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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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NEW MEXICAN LAND GRANTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TITLE PAPERS OF THE MAXWELL GRANT

By HAROLD H. DUNHAM *

THE history of New Mexico during its territorial period necessarily includes mention of the Spanish and Mexican land grants that were placed under the jurisdiction of the United States government by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The importance of these grants is evident by the fact that they covered tens of millions of acres, they were inexorably tied in with the political, economic and social life of the Territory, and they presented difficult problems to both Territorial and National officials during more than a half century. On the national level, the grants commanded more than their share of time in the General Land Office and the Interior Department, and they frequently required special congressional investigations, debate and legislation, in addition to difficult Supreme Court decisions. In view, then, of their national as well as their regional prominence, the grants warrant a place in any broad consideration of American public land policies.

The problems that arose from the grants are at least partially attributable to the vagueness or the irregularities found in their title papers. Even a casual study of land grant records will reveal the fact that some of the Mexican grants far exceeded the legal amount of 48,000 acres authorized for donation to any person;[1] some grants had mutually over-

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1. 36 Cong. 1 Sess., H. Rep. #321, passim; and ibid, Sen. Rep. #228.

lapping boundaries, even to the extent of several hundred thousand acres;[2] some grants have been proven to be completely, as well as at times, crudely, fraudulent;[3] and some grants required an unusual amount of litigation to determine their validity, extent, location or ownership.[4]

The reasons for these irregularities are not readily apparent. In part, they seem to have been obscured amidst the land schemes and manipulations of individuals prominently associated with New Mexican history from before the American occupation of the region, and also in the peculiarities of the legal provisions that were established for validating and confirming land grants subsequent to the occupation. It therefore is the purpose of this paper to reexamine briefly some of the developments and legislation surrounding the New Mexican land grant story of the middle of the 19th century, and then to analyze the title papers of one of the most prominent, important, controversial and fascinating of the grants, namely the Beaubien and Miranda grant, more commonly known as the Maxwell grant. Incidentally, such an analysis might contribute to meeting the challenge recently posted by Erna Fergusson, when she asserted that if it could be written, the "true story" of the Maxwell grant "would reveal the actual history of New Mexico."[5]

The reexamination will begin with a review of the circumstances surrounding the creation of the land grants in northeastern New Mexico during the latter period of Mexican control. One of the outstanding historians of that enchanting state, Ralph E. Twitchell, attributes their origin to the determination of New Mexican officials, having in mind the developments in Texas after 1821, to promote settlements that would protect the Department against possible ulterior designs of the American government.[6]

2. R. E. Twitchell—*Leading Facts of New Mexican History.* 5 vols. (1911-1917) IV, 211-213.

3. 49 Cong. 2 Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. #37.

4. H. H. Dunham—*Government Handouts: A Study in the Administration of the Public Lands, 1876-1891.* (1941) pp. 212ff.

5. E. Fergusson—*New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples.* (1951) p. 245.

6. Twitchell—*Leading Facts,* op. cit., II, 196-7. See also, H. M. Porter—*Pencillings of An Early Western Pioneer.* (1919) p. 17; and LeR. Hafen—*Colorado: The Story of a Western Commonwealth.* (1939) p. 94. These latter two sources mention the threat from Texas, too.

In support of this explanation, the title papers now extant show that after the establishment of Texan independence, Governor Manuel Armijo approved a number of land grants north and east of Taos, covering land that extended as far as the Arkansas River. For example, in 1841 Charles Beaubien, a naturalized Mexican citizen and a resident and merchant of Taos, and Guadalupe Miranda, Secretary of the New Mexican government received a grant covering the upper portions of the Colorado (present Canadian) River.[7] This grant was later patented by the United States government for approximately 1,700,000 acres. On December 9, 1843, Governor Armijo approved a grant to Cornelio Vigil, Alcalde of Taos, and Ceran St. Vrain, a Santa Fe trader and part owner of the famous Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River, for a tract lying north of the Beaubien and Miranda grant. The later claimed area of this grant was approximately 4,000,000 acres, although only a fraction of that amount was patented by the United States government.[8] A few weeks after the recorded approval of the Vigil and St. Vrain grant, Governor Armijo acted favorably on a petition from Stephen Louis Lee, American born distiller of Taos, and Narciso Beaubien, son of Charles Beaubien, for land that became known as the Sangre de Cristo grant. The land lay adjacent to and northwest of the Beaubien and Miranda grant, and southwest of the Vigil and St. Vrain grant. It was later patented by the United States government for approximately 1,000,000 acres.[9] There were other grants of considerable size south and west of the above mentioned grants that indicate an effort to carry out the purpose that Ralph Twitchell suggests, but these grants need not be detailed here.

Rather it is necessary to call attention to an additional factor that somewhat modifies Mr. Twitchell's explanation. That factor is the role which United States citizens played in intentionally promoting the grants. Specifically, the creation of at least several of these grants was an outcome of a sugges-

7. W. A. Keleher—*Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item.* (1942); and F. Stanley—*The Grant That Maxwell Bought.* (1952).

8. LeR. Hafen—"Mexican Land Grants in Colorado," *The Colorado Magazine,* Vol. IV, #3, May 1927, pp. 87-8.

9. H. O. Brayer—*William Blackmore.* 2 vols. (1949) Vol. I. *The Spanish and Mexican Land Grants,* pp. 125ff.

tion from members of John Charles Fremont's second western expedition, 1843-1844. The suggestion was made to certain New Mexican merchants, traders and officials, to obtain grants in their own name and then bring in as associate owners, other individuals whether they were Mexican citizens or not. This plan was carried out. The plan apparently was based on the assumption that sooner or later New Mexico would become a part of the United States, and thus claimants to large tracts of New Mexican land would benefit by the ensuing American development of the region.

Whether or not the above hypothesis as to purpose is correct, it is possible to document the role of Fremont's party in proposing the creation of the grants. One member of the expedition in particular, William Gilpin, claimed credit for originating the proposal.[10] Gilpin, later the first Territorial Governor of Colorado and a man closely associated with, as a part owner and promoter of, at least two Mexican grants,[11] made his boast in 1872, while testifying in a law suit concerning the ownership of the Vigil and St. Vrain grant. He was then supporting the point that Eugene Leitensdorfer, a Santa Fe trader, was one of the early owners, when he stated that the grant "was made, perhaps on his [Gilpin's] suggestion, to apply to the Mexican authorities for grants of land, and they did so; and that this, with other grants, were made accordingly; that he had and held relations of personal friendship with all the parties at the time and that by that means was made acquainted with nearly all circumstances attending this grant and others. . . ."

Before analyzing the significance of Gilpin's assertion, it might be well to cite some supporting evidence. In addition to the collateral information found in H. H. Bancroft's life of Gilpin,[12] there is evidence presented in a land prospectus privately printed in London in 1869.[13] This prospectus, issued by William Blackmore, an English barrister and pro-

10. Craig vs Leitensdorfer, Transcript of Record, Vol. IV. U. S. Supreme Court, October Term, 1887. pp. 291-2.

11. H. H. Bancroft—*History of the Life of William Gilpin.* (1889) passim.

12. Ibid, p. 48.

13. (No author)—*Colorado: Its Resources, Parks and Prospects as a New Field for Emmigration, With an Account of the Trenchara and Costilla Estates, in the San Luis Park.* (Privately printed in London, 1869) Introduction, pp. 6-7.

moter seeking to encourage British investment in New Mexican land grants, explained that: "About 25 years ago the attention of Mr. Charles Beaubien, an intelligent Frenchman and naturalized citizen of Mexico, was directed by some scientific gentlemen and officers attached to one of the United States Exploring Expeditions, to the extreme fertility, salubrity and mineral wealth of the San Luis Park. . . . Mr. Beaubien proceeded to the spot and having verified their representations by personal examination, upon his return applied to the Governor General of [New] Mexico for a grant [the Sangre de Cristo grant] of the best portion of the Park. . . . The grant was made to him by the [New] Mexican Government in 1845. . . ."

There is no reason to question the basic accuracy of this statement. Of course it differs as to the date of the grant's origin and the name of the claimant given in the title papers and mentioned above. But it is possible to explain the difference in names in either one of two ways. First would be the fact that Charles Beaubien did acquire sole title to the grant under tragic circumstances, for in the Taos Revolt of January 1847, both Narciso Beaubien and Stephen L. Lee were killed.[14] So, by inheritance from his son and purchase from Lee's estate, Charles Beaubien obtained ownership of the grant. On the other hand, Charles may have been considered the principal original owner, for the grant papers are drawn up chiefly in his own handwriting, including his son's signature, and his son was only 13 years old when the grant reputedly was made (1843).[15] At that time, Charles was part owner of the Beaubien and Miranda grant, and so probably did not want to apply in his own name for a second grant.

Gilpin's assertions that not only the Vigil and St. Vrain grant but "other grants" were prompted by his suggestion, and his claim to have held relations of personal friendship with all the parties acquiring grants, indicates that numerous individuals benefited by his suggestion. That this was in fact true is shown by the considerable number of grantees,

14. Hafen—"Mexican Land Grants," op. cit., p. 84.

15. The original title papers of the Sangre de Cristo Grant, The State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colo.

as well as the other New Mexicans and Americans that came into the picture.

For example, Eugene Leitensdorfer drafted the petition requesting the Vigil and St. Vrain grant, and ostensibly in 1844 he also received a one-sixth share of the grant.[16] Charles Bent, one of the owners with Ceran St. Vrain of Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River, and later to become the first American civil governor of New Mexico, also received a one-sixth share of the grant. So likewise did Donaciano Vigil, later Secretary and then acting Governor of New Mexico in 1847. Furthermore, Charles Bent and Eugene Leitensdorfer used their influence with Governor Manuel Armijo to secure approval of the grant, an effort which may be related to the fact that, in 1844, Governor Armijo obtained a one-sixth share of the grant.[17] Two of these men, that is Bent and Armijo, also obtained, in 1843, one-fourth shares in the Beaubien and Miranda grant.[18] There are other instances in which American traders to New Mexico and New Mexican residents, including Governor Armijo, held claims to New Mexican land grants, but a sufficient number of examples have been cited to indicate the pattern.

A considerable body of evidence indicates that irrespective of earlier dates appearing in the title papers to many Mexican grants, the grants actually were drawn up in, or revised into, their present form during the period 1845-1846, when General Armijo had returned to power as Governor after a brief period of retirement. An example of this evidence will be considered later in the analysis of the Beaubien and Miranda title papers, but now it is appropriate to turn to a description of the character of the legal provisions established by the United States for validating and confirming Spanish and Mexican land grants after the American occupation of New Mexico.

The long standing dispute between the United States and Mexico reached a climax when, on May 13, 1846, the United

16. Craig vs Leitensdorfer, Case #79, U. S. Circuit Court, Denver, Colo. (Testimony of W. A. Bransford.)

17. Ibid; and the National Archives, Records of the Department of the Interior, General Land Office, New Mexico Private Land Claims, Docket #17. (Package marked "Armijo." Power of Attorney to John Gwynn, Jr., January 15, 1872.)

18. Dunham—*Government Handout*, op. cit., p. 215, fn. 16.

States Congress declared war on the latter country. Within a short time, Colonel (later General) Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West began marching toward New Mexico. On August 18, 1846, the capital city of Santa Fe was occupied by General Kearny without a struggle, after Governor Armijo had fled precipitously southward under a cloud of suspicion because of secret negotiations with such American-Mexican traders as James Magoffin.[19] Whether or not the possibility of American ratification of Governor Armijo's land claims affected his decision not to fight the American Army remains an open question.

The peaceful conquest of New Mexico paved the way for carrying forward the ostensible purpose of the Gilpin proposals regarding the acquisition of Mexican land grants. The owners of these grants undoubtedly knew that they faced a potential difficulty in securing recognition of their land titles that violated the provisions of the Mexican land laws and that were based on documents not deposited in the office of the Secretary of the Territory. The solution to this difficulty seemed to lie in securing the appointment of officials and the enactment of legal provisions that would safeguard the steps already taken. There is presently available only circumstantial evidence, not direct proof, that planning for and fulfillment of such safeguards ensued, but this evidence needs to be considered.

Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain were well acquainted with Colonel Kearny. The latter had been entertained at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas during his 1845 tour of the West.[20] Moreover, he consulted with Bent and St. Vrain at Fort Leavenworth during the time he was preparing his forces for the invasion of New Mexico.[21] Bent had come to Fort Leavenworth fresh from a visit in Santa Fe where he had consulted with Governor Armijo and others, and so was

19. The Magoffin Papers, General Accounting Office, Washington, D. C. (Photostats in the possession of the author); R. E. Twitchell—*The Military Occupation of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851.* (1909) pp. 378-9; and S. M. Drumm, ed.—*Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-47.* (1926) pp. 96-7, fn.

20. H. Dunham—"Governor Charles Bent: Pioneer and Martyr," Denver *Westerners Brand Book, 1951,* p. 261.

21. Ibid, pp. 257-261.

able to provide Colonel Kearny with an up-to-date analysis of New Mexican conditions and prospects.

Furthermore, Charles Bent was well acquainted with David Waldo, a man who played a key role in advising General Kearny, after he reached New Mexico, on the appointment of civil officials for the Territory in the preparation of its code of laws.[22] Waldo had proposed Bent as Captain of the 1829 Santa Fe caravan that was escorted by Major Bennett Riley. Waldo, himself, had engaged in the Santa Fe Trade at least since 1830, and had amassed a fortune in it. Ralph Twitchell notes that Waldo "knew all the people of New Mexico of consequence, socially and in a business way." When the Mexican War broke out he enlisted in the Missouri forces and became Captain of the First Missouri Mounted Volunteers. Incidentally, he was a good friend of William Gilpin, who became a Major in Colonel A. W. Doniphan's Regiment, and in 1843 Waldo had loaned Gilpin part of the money necessary for his trip to Oregon, prior to Gilpin's falling in with the Fremont expedition.[23]

Although the preparation of the Kearny Code for New Mexico had been assigned to Colonel Doniphan, most of the actual work on it was performed by Private W. P. Hall, with assistance from Captain Waldo.[24] The latter was an excellent Spanish scholar and he translated the Code into Spanish. He also translated into English all the Spanish papers and documents that fell into General Kearny's hands.

How much effect, if any, these connections and activities had in the matter, it is a fact that General Kearny included in his selection of civil officials such men as Charles Bent, Governor, Donaciano Vigil, Secretary, Eugene Leitensdorfer, Auditor of Public Accounts and Charles Beaubien, Judge.[25] In addition, the sections of the Kearny Code for protecting land titles reveal some astonishing features. They provided for the establishment of an office of Register of Lands, which office was to be filled by the Secretary of the Territory, then Donaciano Vigil. It became his duty

22. S. M. Drumm, ed.—Down the Santa Fe Trail, op. cit., pp. 64-5 fn.
23. Twitchell—*Military Occupation*, op. cit., pp. 325.
24. Ibid, p. 233.
25. 30 Cong. 1 Sess., H. Ex. Doc. #60, pp. 220-1.

to "record all papers and documents of and concerning lands . . . issued by the Spanish or Mexican government, *remaining*[25a] [!] in the archives of the secretary of the Territory. . . ." But in addition, every person in the Territory claiming a land grant "may deliver to the register . . . for the purpose of being recorded" his muniment of title. No time limit was set for this process. It appears strange that, since Mexican law had required the retention of original title papers in the Secretary's office and had provided the grant claimant only a duplicate copy,[26] the Register of Lands had to make a double recording. However, the *permissive* feature of the system left the door open to fraud.

The open door proved to be an irresistible invitation to immediate and subsequent fradulent manufacture of land grant papers. Within less than a year after the termination of the Mexican War, official and unofficial reports revealed that this new industry was in full swing. For instance, in a letter from Santa Fe dated December 12, 1848, an American Army officer, using the initials J. H. D., reported the fabrication of grant titles. His letter was first printed in a Mississippi newspaper and reprinted in the *Daily National Intelligencer of Washington*, on March 31, 1849.[27] Among other items, the officer wrote:

> "The Prefecto at El Paso del Norte has for the past few months been very active in disposing (for his own benefit) of all lands in that vicinity that are valuable, antedating the titles to suit purchasers. These lands will be made a source of profitable litigation when a few more enterprising lawyers get out here. . . . Many of the tracts have such indefinitely defined boundaries as the following: 'A piece of land bounded by the suburbs of Santa Fe;' 'A piece of land lying north of said irrigation ditch.' . . ."

This letter was officially corroborated by Indian Agent James S. Calhoun, who arrived in Santa Fe to take up his duties on July 22, 1849. On the following October 13, Agent Calhoun reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in

25a. The author underlined the word.

26. 51 Cong. 2 Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. #30 (G. Miranda's testimony). See also, Survey Office Archive #1325, wherein M. Armijo, on March 16, 1846, requests the original grant papers for the Sandia Grant. Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe, N. M.

27. Report of the General Land Office, 1871. p. 68.

Washington that the residents of New Mexico held possession of the lands they occupied and tilled by special grants from the government of Mexico or Spain, but "the extent of these grants are not well understood. . . ."[28] Commenting on grants to villages, Calhoun declared: "The extent of the grants and privileges to the proprietors of these Villages is not yet known, and [but] the spurious claims will be in proper *form* in time to meet the legislation of the Congress of the United States."

A few days later, Calhoun reported again, and wrote that the extent of the Indian Pueblo grants was "unknown." Furthermore, he noted that some prominent men in New Mexico were intending to keep American settlers out of the country for as long as possible, for these settlers might "put an earlier end to their [the prominent men's] designs upon the land of the country, in covering the most desirable spots [of the Territory] with fictitious grants."

If the extent of the Pueblo grants was unknown in 1849, it later developed that eleven of them claimed a definite amount of land based on the title papers purportedly issued in 1689. Fraud became evident in these cases, however, when it was shown that on the title papers the signature of the Secretary of the Government was obviously spurious, because no such individual had then served as Secretary.[29] The carelessness with which the fraud had been attempted was evident from the fact that the grant to Laguna was "made" ten years before the Pueblo was founded.

The Supreme Court of New Mexico in 1855 commented revealingly on the traffic in Pueblo grants made possible by extracting Pueblo titles from the public archives, if not by reason of manufacture, in one of the most flowery, imaginative and gently sarcastic products of the judicial bench.[30] The famous Pueblo of Acoma was suing an individual by the name of Victor De La O to obtain its title papers without paying the $600 that De La O demanded. The decision in the

28. A. H. Abel, ed.—*The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun.* (1915) pp. 44-52, passim.

29. H. O. Brayer—*Pueblo Indian Land Grants of the "Rio Abajo."* (1939) pp. 14-15

30. Victor De La O vs The Pueblo of Acoma. 1 N. M. 226. The order of the quotations in the text has been reversed from that in the original.

case was handed down by Justice Kirby Benedict in favor of Acoma. In the course of his analysis, the Justice commented: "We do not deem it irrelevant to remark, that the abstraction from the archives of this territory of pueblo titles at a period not very remote has become a matter of general notoriety from their nature and importance, and from their diffusion throughout the territory, and the frequent attempts at extorting money from pueblos by means of these documents. We feel authorized to allude to the fact as one that has assumed the dignity of an historical event. . . . De La O admits substantially that he did speculate in pueblo Indian documents. . . . he obtained the title to the pueblo of Laguna . . . , which he swears he sold to General Armijo for the sum of two hundred dollars. . . ."

Returning now to more direct and pertinent evidence on the manufacture of land grant papers in New Mexico, the instances of the reputed sale in 1846 of both the Vigil and St. Vrain grant and the Beaubien and the Miranda grant are cases in point.[31] Of course there is a distinction to be made between the outright fabrication of land titles and the attempted transfer of titles by means of spurious documents, but the methods are the same. The records show that during December, 1846, some of the claimants to each of the above mentioned grants ostensibly sold their interest in the grants to officers serving in Kearny's Army of the West. The details of the sale of the Vigil and St. Vrain grant only will be examined here, for the original title papers, not copies as in the case of the Beaubien and Miranda grant, are readily available.

The sale seemed to have taken place on December 12, 1846, at Taos by means of a deed attesting to the payment of $12,000 for five-sixths of the grant by Major Benjamin Walker, Major Dunham Spalding, Lt. Colonel D. D. Mitchell, Captain Thomas B. Hudson, Charles Bent and Joab Houghton.[32] The owners of the grant at that time were Ceran St. Vrain, Cornelio Vigil, Donaciano Vigil, Charles Bent,

31. Henry Clark, et al. vs The Maxwell Land Grant Company. Case 768. Brief in the files of the Fourth Judicial District, District Court, Colfax County, Raton, N. M.

32. The National Archives, Records of the Department of the Interior, General Land Office, New Mexico Private Land Claims, Docket #17. (Photostat in the possession of the author.) See also, H. O. Brayer—*William Blackmore*, op. cit., I, 129, fn. 11.

Manuel Armijo and Eugene Leitensdorfer, but not all of them signed the deed. Manuel Armijo did not, possibly accounting for the sale of only five-sixths of the grant. And, while the name of Leitensdorfer was referred to in the body of the deed, he did not sign it. Ceran St. Vrain, Cornelio Vigil and Donaciano Vigil apparently did sign the deed, and Charles Bent's name is included over the signature of the administrator of his estate, for Bent was recorded as deceased.

This reference to Charles Bent provides a key to the true character of the document, for Bent was murdered during the Taos Revolt of January 17, 1847, more than a month after the deed reputedly was drawn up. The deed was drawn up some time after January 17, 1847, and dated back to December 12, 1846. Moreover, Cornelio Vigil also was killed during the Revolt, yet his name is subscribed to the deed as though he signed it himself. Such a crudely compiled spurious grant document was later recognized as such, but it was allowed to remain with the records of the grants as a legal conveyance of the interests of Cornelio Vigil, Ceran St. Vrain, and Donaciano Vigil![33]

The manufacture of fraudulent private land claim documents was not confined alone to the period associated with the Mexican War, but continued well down toward the close of the 19th century. In the Ralph Twitchell Collection of the Historical Society of New Mexico there are blank samples of officially stamped Mexican paper that Mr. Twitchell obtained from a New Mexican resident who, according to a notation by Mr. Twitchell, was noted as an "expert in penmanship" during the first decade of American occupation when the fabrication of grant documents was a common industry.[34] Even after the Private Lands Claim Court had been established in 1891, skilled penmanship continued to be manifest, for William Keleher testifies that: "Forgery and the fabrication of documents proved a fine art in connection with claims before the Court of Private Land Claims."[35]

33. Brayer, loc. cit.

34. R. E. Twitchell Collection, Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fe, N. M. Document #154.

35. W. A. Keleher—"Law of the New Mexican Land Grant," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. IV, #4, Oct. 1929, p. 356.

The government in New Mexico as well as in Washington early recognized the attempts at frauds, but took only half-hearted and insufficient measures to prevent their successful consummation. For instance, in 1851, after Congressional authorization of a Territorial Government for New Mexico, the Kearny Code provision for recording claimant submitted titles was officially rescinded by the Territorial Legislature.[36] And in 1853, when the Gadsden Purchase Treaty brought additional Mexican land under United States ownership, a section of the Treaty provided that land titles in the area so acquired would be considered valid only if confirming evidence were found in Mexican Archives.[37] Of course, this provision did not affect the land obtained under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the Mexican War.

In 1854, Congress established a Surveyor General's Office for New Mexico, with an accompanying requirement that the Surveyor General investigate the validity of all New Mexican land grants and report them to Congress for consideration.[38] Under this system, the Surveyor General was able to secure, with the assistance of Donaciano Vigil, land grant titles and related documents from the New Mexican Archives. These archival documents were placed in the Surveyor General's office for reference in land grant cases. And yet the initiative for securing confirmation of titles rested with the grant claimants, by the requirement that they submit their title papers to the Surveyor General. Again, as in the case of the Kearny Code, no time limit was set within which claimants must attempt to prove up. Meanwhile, however, the right of a claimant to the use of his land was specifically protected under provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The inappropriateness of requiring the New Mexican Surveyor General to combine surveying duties with land grant duties became all too obvious after 1854. According to their own testimony, these officials lacked the time, skill and

36. Twitchell—*Military Occupation*, op. cit., p. 198.

37. U. S. Statutes at Large, 10 Stat. 1035; and *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. 28, Part 1 and Part 2 (especially pp. 984-5). The Senate met in Executive Session, and so there is no report of its debate.

38. Twitchell—*Leading Facts*, op. cit., II, 457ff; and 34 Cong. 1 Sess., H. Ex. Doc. #1, Part I, pp. 158 and 301-3.

authority to conduct more than a superficial investigation, before forwarding the claims, with their recommendations, to the government at Washington.[39]

Furthermore, Congress and its committees lacked competence in the matter. The first set of New Mexican claims to reach Washington brought forth the admission of a Congressional Committee on Private Land Claims in 1860 that it was not possible for the Committee to conduct a satisfactory examination of the grant papers so as to do justice to the government and protect legitimate claimants' interests.[40] For this and other reasons, Congress later ceased to review the accumulating numbers of private land claims. Repeated efforts to provide a better system,[41] such as the establishment of a Private Land Claims Court similar to that for California, proved fruitless until 1891. Then, partly because of the bitter disputes and even bloodshed over the validity of the Maxwell Grant title to 1,700,000 acres, partly because of the long period of shameless Congressional neglect of the Territory's needs, and partly through the organized efforts sparked by the Maxwell Land Grant Company's able attorney, Frank Springer, Congress created a New Mexican Private Land Claims Court.[42] It took this Court thirteen years of laborious, conscientious work to complete the task of confirming valid titles, reducing bloated claims and rejecting invalid ones.

Prior to this time, that is from the close of the Civil War to 1891, the leaders of the dominant political party in New Mexico, comprising what was known as the Santa Fe Ring, had supported claimants' titles to and use of land grants, frequently to the detriment of the Territory's sound development.[43] In passing, it may be noted that George W. Julian, appointed Surveyor General of New Mexico by President Grover Cleveland in an attempt to straighten out public land

39. 41 Cong. 2 Sess., H. Ex. Doc. #1. Report of the General Land Office, 1870, pp. 109-10; and 44 Cong. 1 Sess., H. Ex. Doc. #1. Report of the General Land Office, 1875, pp. 44-5.

40. 36 Cong. 1 Sess., H. Rep. #321.

41. cf. 47 Cong. 1 Sess., H. Rep. #173.

42. Twitchell—*Leading Facts*, op. cit., II, 463ff; and Report of the Attorney General, 1904, passim but especially pp. 97-8.

43. R. E. Twitchell—*Old Santa Fe.* (1925) p. 394; and W. A. Keleher—*The Fabulous Frontier: Twelve New Mexico Items.* (1945) p. 104.

matters as much as possible, blamed the Santa Fe Ring for the sorry state of private land claim affairs.[44] However, Mr. Julian erred in not taking into account the open door feature of the Kearny Code and the use earlier New Mexican residents made of it.

Turning now to an analysis of the Beaubien and Miranda, or Maxwell, land grant, it will be possible to illustrate more completely than was done above how the official machinery for handling private land claims facilitated land grant title confusion and manipulation. Perhaps the best way to begin the analysis is to summarize an account of a hitherto neglected feature of the Maxwell grant story. Behind the brief recital of the origin of the Beaubien and Miranda grant given above, lies the fact that in 1841 Charles Beaubien and Guadalupe Miranda each obtained a grant within the area later covered by their joint grant.[45] The grant to each man was approved by the Provincial Deputation, not Governor Armijo. Then later, it appears, Governor Armijo did make to the two men the joint grant as it is known today. Nevertheless, the title papers of the joint grant were so drawn up as to seem to involve some of the same action that occurred in connection with the two former grants. Thus, anachronisms, title paper inconsistencies with other contemporary documents, and confusion for contemporary as well as subsequent individuals were perhaps inevitable results. From the same fact of replacement stem many of the subsequent legal and armed conflicts associated with the Beaubien and Miranda grant.

In passing, it should be observed that although the present title papers superseded former grant papers under peculiar circumstances, no one can challenge the legality of the existing title. This title rests upon documents that were the basis for Congressional confirmation of the grant in 1860,[46] and that confirmation, with the patent issued pursuant to it, was upheld by the United States Supreme Court decisions of 1887 and 1888.[47] Nevertheless, unquestioned

44. G. Myers—*History of Great American Fortunes.* (1936) pp. 657-8.
45. Report of the General Land Office, 1855-56. pp. 227-246 and 247-253.
46. U. S. Statutes at Large, 12 Stat. 71.
47. U. S. vs The Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company, 121 U. S. 325 and 122 U. S. 365.

security of title is no bar to proof of elaborate and skillful manipulation of title papers. And if a material basis is needed to help explain the reasons for such manipulation, it may be found in the 1909 estimate of the value of the grant as amounting to $50,000,000.[48]

The question might well be raised as to what is the proof of shuffling Beaubien and Miranda grant papers, and of including certain facts and dates connected with the two separate grants in the present title papers? First, there is the record found in the Surveyor General's report for 1855-56.[49] He there lists documents under the heading "Abstract to grants of land," that were obtained from the New Mexican Archives. For grant number 22 he records Charles Beaubien, et. al., under the name of the grantee; 1841 as the date of the grant (month and day not given); the Provincial Deputation of New Mexico as the grantor; and Taos County as the location of the grant. For grant number 116, the Surveyor General listed a grant to Guadalupe Miranda, et. al.; 1841 as the date of the grant (month and day not given); the Provincial Deputation of New Mexico as the grantor; and Taos County as the location of the grant. There is no doubt but that these comprise two separate grants, although a curious feature of the Surveyor General's handling of the documents is that he assigns both of them his own index or archival number of 150. This assigned number will be discussed later as no longer attached to grant title papers. Furthermore, additional evidence will be cited below in support of the statement that there were originally two separate grants.

A second step in proof of the juggling of the Beaubien and Miranda grant papers results from comparing three different sets of its title papers. These sets are: (1) the title papers submitted by the claimants to the Surveyor General of New Mexico in 1857;[50] (2) the title papers as recorded in 1847 in the Register of Land Titles maintained under the

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48. Twitchell—*Military Occupation*, op. cit., p. 268.

49. See Note 40 above; and J. J. Webb—*Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade*, (R. P. Bieber, ed., 1931) p. 68. Webb states that there were three original proprietors of the grant, viz: Beaubien, Miranda and Abreu.

50. Original title papers of the Beaubien and Miranda Grant, Office of the Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe, N. M.

Kearny Code;[51] and (3) a printed copy of the title papers, with an accompanying translation, that was the basis for Congressional confirmation of the grant in 1860.[52] Though supposedly these all should be alike, each of the sets contains revealing differences from the others.

Among the differences that stand out, there is an original letter found among the papers submitted to the Surveyor General in 1857, which is not found duplicated in the printed copy sent to Congress. This letter was written by Manuel Armijo from Albuquerque to Charles Beaubien under the date of May 23, 1846. It gave the latter power of attorney to dispose of Armijo's share in the Beaubien and Miranda grant. Whether Beaubien exercised this power is not clear, but it is clear, in the light of the letter, and the later efforts of the Armijo family lawyers, that Manuel Armijo claimed a share in the grant. Incidentally, the Armijo letter is mounted upon a blank sheet of official Mexican paper bearing the date 1840-41.

Furthermore, the title papers copied in 1847 into what became Book A of the Register of Land Titles under the Kearny Code contain a record of a donation of one-fourth of the grant to Charles Bent, dated March 2, 1843, and this item does not appear in the other sets. This record serves as evidence of Bent's ownership of a share of the grant, despite Beaubien's seeming denial of such ownership in 1844. This denial is contained in a document that forms part of the title papers, and will be noted more fully below.

From such discrepancies, then, as well as others, it appears that the title to the Beaubien and Miranda grant was manipulated after the American occupation of New Mexico. Moreover, since the evidence of Armijo's part ownership and Bent's part ownership, as well as the record of the 1846 sale to the officers in Kearny's Army, was not forwarded to Congress by the Surveyor General's office, it is evident that Congress confirmed the grant without a full knowledge of its disposition to 1860.

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51. Book A, Register of Land Titles, 1847. Maintained under the Kearny Code. Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe, N. M. pp. 19-23.

52. 36 Cong. 1 Sess., H. Rep. #321.

The final step in the analysis of the peculiarities of the Beaubien and Miranda grant title papers will entail a checking of the papers against other contemporary records. First of all the title papers submitted by the claimants to the Surveyor General in 1857 purport to show that Beaubien and Miranda petitioned for a grant on January 8, 1841. A minor variation from form results from the fact that the signature for Beaubien at the end of the petition is not in his own handwriting.

Though obtaining Armijo's approval of the grant on January 11, 1841, it was not until 1843 that Beaubien and Miranda applied to Cornelio Vigil, the Taos Alcalde, for the necessary investiture of title and laying out of the grant boundaries. Then Vigil testified that between the dates February 13 and February 22, 1843, in company with a party of witnesses, he had taken Beaubien and Miranda to the grant region, set up seven stones as boundary markers, and given the claimants evidence of possession.

Adopting the droll observation of Colorado Historian Le Roy Hafen for the Sangre de Cristo grant,[53] a skeptical observer might doubt that the Beaubien and Miranda survey party actually erected several of the stone markers on the tops of high mountains in the dead of winter. But it is not necessary to rely on conjecture in questioning the hardihood of these New Mexican residents, because a contemporary letter indicates that the expedition did not take place as reported. The letter is one written by Charles Bent in Taos and dated February 5, 1843, while the survey supposedly was in progress.[54] It was addressed to Manuel Alvarez, acting American Consul, in Santa Fe, and it contained a postscript written in French by Charles Beaubien. The latter requested Alvarez to tell Guadalupe Miranda in Santa Fe that he (Beaubien) could not come to Santa Fe during the following week, but that he would come as soon thereafter as he could.

This letter, unconnected as it was with any phase of land grant activities, could be taken as more reliable in its facts, than the Beaubien and Miranda title papers with their many

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53. Hafen—"*Mexican Land Grants*," op. cit., p. 84, fn. 8.

54. Charles Bent to Manuel Alvarez, Feb. 15, 1843. Letter #62, B. M. Read Collection of Bent Letters. Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fe, N. M.

discrepancies. Consequently, it would seem that neither Beaubien (who was in Taos) nor Miranda (who seemingly was in Santa Fe) was sojourning in the Colorado River area during the time that the title papers show that Alcalde Vigil was marking the grant boundaries and giving the claimants personally their evidence of title.

The title papers also show that during the latter part of 1843, the leading clerical figure of Taos, Padre Antonio Jose Martinez, and the chiefs of the Taos Pueblo, protested to the Mexican and the New Mexican governments the granting of illegally large tracts of land such as that to Beaubien and Miranda.[55] And they also charged that these latter claimants had illegally taken in Charles Bent as an associate in the grant. In response, the government suspended use of the grant on February 27, 1844. To meet this challenge, on April 13, 1844, Beaubien drew up a lengthy and enigmatic petition in his own name and that of his associate Miranda and sent it to the government. The petition protested the suspension of the grant, and maintained that the Padre and the Chiefs were mistaken both as to the size of the grant and the report that Bent was supposed to have any claim to it. In support of his contention that the grant was not illegally large, Beaubien's petition asserted that it contained only 17 or 18 square leagues, as shown by the title papers submitted with his petition. The grant title papers further indicate that the Departmental Assembly discussed Beaubien's petition, rejected the Martinez protest, and recommended that the Governor rescind the order suspending use of the grant. Ostensibly, an acting governor accepted the recommendation and removed the decree of suspension, April 18, 1844, so that shortly Beaubien and Miranda were reinstated to full rights of possession.

However, several questions have to be raised about the character of Beaubien's petition and the official action it supposedly induced. For instance, how could it be maintained truthfully that Bent had no connection with the grant, when the title papers copied into the register of titles under the Kearny Code show that Bent was given a one-fourth interest

55. See also, W. A. Keleher—*Turmoil in New Mexico*, 1846-1868. (1952) pp. 67ff; and P. Sanchez—*Memoirs of Father Antonio Jose Martinez*. ms. (1903) Translated by M. Campos (1942). Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fe, N. M.

in the grant on March 2, 1843? And how could the grant have contained only about 18 square leagues (roughly 80,000 acres) if its boundaries were the basis for the United States patent covering 1,700,000 acres? And finally, how can this petition be reconciled with another Beaubien petition that now resides in the archives of the former Surveyor General's office?

This second petition, not a part of the grant title papers, is dated June 8, 1844, nearly two months after the purported petition in the title papers.[56] It is written in Beaubien's handwriting, in his own behalf and in "the name of the settlers of the Ponil"—there is no mention of Miranda. It refers to the suspension of the grant on May 25, 1844 (not February 27, as in the title papers), and requests that the settlers be permitted to reap the harvest of crops they have sown on their land. According to Ralph Twitchell, no action was taken on this petition.[57] Whether it was or was not is immaterial to the present analysis, but it is material to observe that this petition appears to be bona fide, that it indicates a grant in Beaubien's name only at that date, and that it casts serious doubts on the validity not only of Beaubien's petition included in the grant title papers, but more significantly on the purported action of the Departmental Assembly in response to that petition.

In order to discuss this Assembly action more fully, it is necessary to recall the reputed character of the documents numbered 150 in the Surveyor General's archives. This number had been assigned to two different sets of documents, namely the grants made separately by the Provincial Deputation to Beaubien and Miranda and their respective followers. There seems to be no reason for questioning the accuracy of the Surveyor General's classification of these documents as grants. He had taken pains to classify the many types of documents he had received from the New Mexican Archives, such as wills, petitions, transfers of lands, etc., and a random sampling by the present author of the classification of many of the documents as they exist today supports the accuracy

56. Public Survey Archive #153. Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe, N. M.
57. R. E. Twitchell—*The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (1914) I, 82.

of the Surveyor General's listings, with the exception of documents numbered 150.

At present, these documents consist of one sheet of folded paper (four pages), apparently extracted from the Departmental Assembly's legislative journal.[58] The main portions of this extract record action at two different sessions, but they certainly are not land grant title papers. However, the report of one day's session shows that the Assembly had considered the Padre Martinez's protest concerning the Beaubien and Miranda grant, and also Beaubien's petition of April 13, 1844. It also shows that the Assembly decided to accept Beaubien's assertions, and to recommend that the Governor remove the act of suspension from the grant. This reported record of action is reproduced in all essential parts in the grant title papers as noted above, under the date of April 18, 1844, and apparently in the same handwriting as that in the Assembly minutes.

It would seem, nevertheless, that Beaubien's petition of June 8, 1844, makes impossible any such Assembly action on the grant on April 18. Furthermore, a further question on the validity of the Assembly minutes, based on internal evidence, arises from the fact that at the top of the first sheet of the minutes, are the signatures of the Assembly members and officers, and that one of these shows a different President from that listed below the day's action on the Beaubien and Miranda grant. In the first instance, J. Manuel Gallegos signs as President of the Assembly, and in the second, Felipe Sena so signs. There was no day-to-day change of Assembly presidents, in New Mexico, and when one officer had to be absent from meetings another man took his place and signed in an "acting" capacity. It also might be noted that on the second set of documents comprising archive number 150, J. Manuel Gallegos twice signs as president. Consequently, only for the minutes recording action on the Beaubien and Miranda grant does Felipe Sena sign as president.

Another official document appears to contest the genuineness of Beaubien's petition of April 13, 1844, and the ensuing official removal of suspensory decree. A Mexican general by

58. Public Survey Archive #150. Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe, N. M. There is no date to be found in the document.

the name of Francisco Garcia Conde made an inspection tour of the northeast frontier of New Mexico late in the summer of 1845. After his return to Santa Fe, General Conde wrote the Governor a brief report on his findings under the date of September 20, 1845.[59] Among other items he asserted: "And beyond Taos in the settlement known as the Ponil, there is also a farm belonging to Don Carlos Hipolito Beaubien, where he has several foreigners employed and has as an associate Don Carlos Bent .... I am assured that Senor Martinez ordered that this farm be destroyed while he occupied that office [the Governor's], but afterwards his decision was forgotten and it [the farm] is growing. . . ."

While this report does not prove directly that the reputed decree of suspension was never revoked, it does support the accuracy of Beaubien's petition of June 8, 1844, it attests to Beaubien's ownership of a farm, and it again demonstrates that Charles Bent was associated with Beaubien in the development of the farm.

There are other discrepancies and questions to be noted in connection with the Beaubien and Miranda grant title papers, but enough have been cited to show that they were not the papers originally issued to the two claimants and to indicate that though they were the basis for what has become a valid title, they were not drawn up in accordance with the dates they contain. The official acceptance of such papers was facilitated by the land registration provisions of the Kearny Code and the later system established in the office of the Surveyor General of New Mexico. The details of the subsequent official handling of the grant, through the time of the Supreme Court's decisions in 1887 and 1888, have been given elsewhere and need not be repeated here.

As a concluding thought, it may be remarked that if any purpose has been served by the foregoing discussion, it has been to show how and why many of the private land claims of New Mexico need restudying so that their stories can be properly fitted into both their own State's history and that of national land policies.

59. Public Survey Archive #1128. Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe, N. M.

GENERAL JAMES HENRY CARLETON

By CLARENCE C. CLENDENEN*

It often happens that men whose influence on the history of a region or era has had a decisive effect, are overshadowed by more glamorous figures, or by more spectacular events than those in which they played a part. It sometimes happens, too, that the decisiveness of their actions creates toward them a hostility that causes them to be overlooked in favor of more popular persons, in later years.

Very few historical writers have given any attention to the operations of the powerful force of volunteers from California that crossed the desert of Southern California in the spring of 1862, and joined forces with the New Mexico and Colorado volunteers, on the Rio Grande. Fewer still know or have said anything about the man who organized, trained and commanded the California force, and who succeeded General E. R. S. Canby in command of the Department of New Mexico, in the summer of 1862. And yet, whether an historian is favorably disposed or not toward General James Henry Carleton, it must be admitted that his role in the history of the Southwest was important.

In the summer of 1861, with the Union torn apart, Confederate forces from Texas seized and occupied the posts of western Texas, and in the Rio Grande Valley, in New Mexico. At the same time, Confederate sympathizers in California were openly parading their sympathies, and it was feared that there might even be an uprising in Southern California, where the greater part of the American population was of Southern origin.

To uphold the authority of the Federal government in Los Angeles, early in the summer of 1861, Brevet Major James Henry Carleton, commanding officer of the post of Fort Tejon, was ordered to Los Angeles with two small companies of the 1st Dragoons.[1] In Los Angeles it speedily be-

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1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Series I, Vol. 50, Part 1. Washington: The Government Printing Office. 1897. p. 476. Hereafter referred to as *Official Records.*

came known that Major Carleton would stand for no nonsense from Confederate sympathizers. Before the arrival of the dragoons Unionist sympathizers had found it expedient to speak softly, and to remain as inconspicuous as possible. Within a few days after Carleton's arrival, however, it was possible to stage a Fourth of July parade in honor of the Union. Following the parade, there were patriotic airs by the band of the 1st Dragoons, and speeches by Major Carleton and by Captain Winfield Scott Hancock, whose life had been threatened only a short time before.[2]

This was the first introduction of the citizens of California to the man who was destined, in the next few months, to organize and lead an expedition of Californians to the Rio Grande, and who would, following that, be the responsible commander in three bitter years of war against the Apaches and Navahos, and be the central figure in a scarcely less bitter controversy with various politicians and public men of the Territory of New Mexico.

Major General James Henry Carleton was born at Lubec, Maine, on December 27, 1814, during the second war with England. At the time of his birth, his parents were refugees from Moose Island, Eastport, Maine, which had been seized by the British. All of the inhabitants of the island who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown had been compelled to leave.

Practically nothing is known of his boyhood, his education or his early training. It is most probable that his parents were in comfortable circumstances, although that is purely a conjecture. His boyhood life was like that of other boys of the time in the semi-frontier State of Maine. In the summers he swam, fished, played Indian in the woods. In the winters he attended school, hunted, skated, helped with the chores and participated in snow fights with the other boys. Apparently he never attended college, but his correspondence and his published articles display an ease of expression and an erudition that prove thorough training. His correspondence with Colonel Joseph Rodman West, during the Civil War,

2. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, p. 296. By kind permission of Mr. Marco Newmark.

proves that he possessed some familiarity with Greek—an accomplishment which was considered the hallmark of an educated man of the time.[3] Certain items of his published works would seem to indicate considerable knowledge of Spanish, but this language could, of course, have been acquired during his long service on the southwestern frontier.

The first definite glimpse of James Henry Carleton is found in the records of the Adjutant General of Maine, which show that he was commissioned as a lieutenant of the Maine Militia, on August 20, 1838.[4] Since the militia of those days met only once a year for training, and always made their training day somewhat of a convivial occasion, it is doubtful that the new lieutenant had much opportunity for improving his military knowledge before something serious was afoot. It is safe to assume, however, that he had devoted himself to the study of "tactics" (as drill was then called), and had made himself as competent a soldier as the limited military resources of Maine would permit.

Something serious was afoot very soon. In the following winter the ancient boundary dispute between Great Britain and the United States over ownership of the Aroostook Valley became acute when the authorities of Maine and New Brunswick began to apprehend and hold interlopers into their respective claims. A century later it is easy to smile at the "Aroostook War," in which the total casualty list is said to have been one horse, but at the time the situation was both critical and dangerous.

Governor Fairfield, of Maine, ordered the militia into the disputed area. At the time, Carleton was the lieutenant of the Stillwater company. For one reason or another, most of the senior officers of the battalion, to which the Stillwater company belonged, were unable to respond to the Governor's call. February is not the most clement month of the year in Maine, and as the militiamen struggled northward through the woods, the remaining officer who was senior to Carleton

3. *Official Records*, p. 698. I am indebted to the National Archives for a photostatic copy of this letter.

4. From an official Certificate of Commission, kindly furnished by Brigadier General George Carter, The Adjutant General of Maine.

became ill, and the command of the entire battalion devolved upon him.[5]

No one really wanted a war. General Winfield Scott hurried northward from Washington, and he and Sir John Harvey, the Governor of New Brunswick speedily effected an agreement that eased the tension until the two governments could solve the dispute. Under this agreement, the forces of both sides withdrew from the disputed area, except for enough men to guard the stores which had to be left behind. Lieutenant Carleton's company was selected for this duty, and remained under arms until May, 1839, when as the last of the expeditionary force of the "Pork and Beans War," they marched on foot to Bangor, and were mustered out of the service.[6]

There is no direct evidence that young Lieutenant Carleton came to General Scott's attention, but it is not at all unlikely that he did. Within a short time he received an invitation from Joel Poinsett, the Secretary of War, to come to Washington for examination for a commission in the Regular Army. He passed the examination satisfactorily, and on the last day of November, 1839, he was honorably discharged from the Maine Militia, and departed for his first station and duty—the Cavalry School of Practice, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

The Commandant of the Cavalry School of Practice was Captain Edwin Vose Sumner, an officer of the 1st Dragoons, the regiment to which Carleton was assigned. There appears to have been no definitely prescribed curriculum, and no specific period of instruction. For a year and a half Carleton trained under the eye of Sumner, who was known as a thorough soldier and a strict disciplinarian.

By March, 1841, Sumner evidently decided that the new lieutenant was ready for duty with troops. Late in that

5. From an unpublished report made by James Henry Carleton to The Adjutant General, Washington, D. C., some time in 1863. I am indebted to Colonel Thomas Spaulding, U. S. Army, Retired, for informing me of the existence of this report. A manuscript copy, which he prepared, is in the Stephen Spaulding Memorial Collection, in the Library of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Hereafter referred to as James Henry Carleton, *Report of* 1863.

6. *Ibid.*

month Carleton left Carlisle for Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, in command of a hundred recruits. From Carlisle the command marched overland to Baltimore, and there took ship for New Orleans. From New Orleans they went by steamboat as far as practicable, and marched the remainder of the long distance to Fort Gibson. There Carleton finally joined the regiment and the company to which he would belong for years to come. His company commander was Captain Burgwin, a noted frontier soldier, who was destined to die in battle at Taos, New Mexico.

Almost his first duty at Fort Gibson was to serve as Post Adjutant. This duty lasted for several months, and then, with his company, he marched northward. He was detailed as an Acting Assistant Quartermaster, and in this capacity he constructed Fort Croghan, where Council Bluffs, Iowa, now stands. On the abandonment of Fort Croghan, only a few months later, it fell to Lieutenant Carleton's lot, as Acting Assistant Quartermaster, to build "Mackinack Boats," and transport all of the government property and supplies down the river to Fort Leavenworth. A lieutenant of United States Dragoons, in the middle of the 19th Century, was necessarily a versatile person!

During the slow journey downstream he met and became friendly with Audubon, who has left a glimpse in his *Missouri River Journals*. Audubon's boat and Carleton's convoy moved close together throughout the voyage. Carleton and Audubon frequently ate together, and they were both addicted to whist. They traded knives (this seems to have been a frontier custom). Carleton presented Audubon with a bear skin and a set of elk horns, and Audubon, in return, gave him one of his drawings. Finally, on October 11, 1843, Audubon recorded that upon his departure from Fort Leavenworth, "Lieutenant Carleton came to see me off, and we parted reluctantly."[7]

Within a few weeks after his arrival at Fort Leavenworth from Fort Croghan, Carleton found himself in serious trouble. A full year before, at Fort Gibson, he had become

7. From the "Missouri River Journals," in Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals* (New York, 1897), II, 172-173.

quite friendly with Lieutenant Wickliffe of his own regiment, the 1st Dragoons. Early in December, 1842, Wickliffe shot and killed a squatter, living near the post. He was duly ordered into arrest by Lieutenant Colonel Richard Mason, the Post Commander, but shortly afterward he broke his arrest and disappeared. A year later Colonel Mason suddenly preferred charges against Carleton, who had been Post Adjutant at the time of Wickliffe's disappearance. Mason accused Carleton of having deliberately falsified the morning report so that Wickliffe's absence was not discovered until he was safely away. Mason piled on other charges, until it appeared that Carleton was a scoundrel who was unfit to associate with officers and gentlemen.

A General Court-martial, the highest form of military court, duly met at Fort Gibson, shortly before Christmas, 1843, and pondered the evidence for several weeks. Carleton's defense was a categorical denial of all of the specifications, and an accusation that Mason was motivated by spite and the necessity for finding a "goat." The charges were such that conviction made dismissal from the service mandatory —no other sentence was legally permissible. Nevertheless, the court, after finding Carleton guilty and sentencing him to be dismissed from the service, appended to the record of the trial a strong recommendation for clemency![8]

It would seem that there was more to the case than appeared openly in the record of the trial, and evidently the President of the United States was of the same opinion, for John Tyler commuted the sentence to the purely nominal one of suspension from command for six months without pay. A slap on the wrist, by way of punishment!

The life of the Army on the frontier was far from sedentary or inactive. There was too much to do and too much territory to cover for the scanty forces ever to stagnate or grow stale. In the late summer of 1844 an expedition moved westward from Fort Leavenworth to explore the almost unknown country to the northwest. The expedition, composed of several companies of the 1st Dragoons, was commanded by

8. From the official record of the court martial, furnished by the National Archives, by permission of The Judge Advocate General of the Army.

Major Clifton Wharton, of that regiment, and Carleton was designated as Commissary for the expedition.

Although the expedition was prepared for action at a minute's notice, its primary purposes were exploration, and to demonstrate to the Indian tribes the white man's power. Major Wharton, as commanding officer, kept a careful journal, and several other officers, including Carleton, did likewise. In fact, each camp must have been the scene of a great deal of literary activity, as the officers noted down the activities and observations of the day.[9]

The following spring, a second expedition moved out from Fort Leavenworth for the West. This time it comprised almost the entire regiment of the 1st Dragoons, and was commanded in person by Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, the regimental commander, who had been relieved from command of a department to enable him to command the expedition. The mission was somewhat more ambitious than that of the first expedition, and was to cross the entire width of the Great Plains to the Rocky Mountains, which were almost as little known in 1845 as the mountains of central Asia are today. For three months the column marched across territory which had been seen before by very few white men, and across which a body of troops had never marched before. There were no battles (none were expected), but the troops marched ready for instant combat, and there were endless pow-wows with the Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Comanches.

Again, Carleton, who had been promoted to first lieutenant in the meantime, kept a careful journal, recording all of the incidents of the march, and making notes on all the phenomena he observed. He made a collection of mineralogical and geological specimens, which he later forwarded to Harvard University, and for which he received a vote of thanks from the University.[10]

For several years the situation between the United States and Mexico had been growing tense, and in the early summer

9. James Henry Carleton, *The Prairie Logbooks*, published by the Caxton Club, Chicago, in 1943, and cited by permission of the Club.

10. James Henry Carleton, *Report of* 1863.

of 1846 Carleton's company of the 1st Dragoons marched to San Antonio, Texas, where the "Central Column" was being formed under the command of Brigadier General Wool, for the impending war. Shortly after arrival at San Antonio, Carleton was detailed as an aide-de-camp to General Wool, and as a member of General Wool's staff he crossed the Rio Grande when war finally broke out.

In the early part of the 19th Century a general's aides-de-camp were his eyes and ears. They carried his messages over the battlefield, and frequently were sent to make observations at places where the general could not go himself. At the Battle of Buena Vista it was Carleton who was sent to reconnoiter a practicable route by which the cavalry could reach the Mexican position, and later in the day he commanded a company of his own regiment, the 1st Dragoons, in a desperate charge. His conspicuous conduct resulted, some time later, in his being brevetted to the grade of major for "gallant and meritorious services" in the battle.[11]

Immediately after the close of the campaign in northern Mexico Carleton was ordered to Scott's army, which was approaching the City of Mexico from Vera Cruz. While en route to join, however, he was taken seriously ill, so instead of being in the final campaign of the war, he was ordered to Washington, where he spent the next several months convalescing. This was not time wasted, however, for he spent his enforced leisure in writing a *History of the Battle of Buena Vista, with the Operations of the Army of Occupation for Thirty Days*. It was published by Harper Brothers in 1848, and still remains one of the best accounts of the battle, and is practically the only one written by an actual participant.[12]

During the war he had been promoted to the substantive rank of captain, and the autumn of 1848 found him fully recovered, and finally in command of his own company. (Before World War I a captain usually remained assigned to a single company, as long as he held the rank of captain.) His

11. *Ibid.*

12. Miss Elizabeth Perkins, of Baltimore, Maryland, who is a grandniece of James Henry Carleton, kindly loaned me her personal copy of *The Battle of Buena Vista*. It was a present from Carleton to his sister, and bears his autograph.

new company was at Carlisle Barracks, and Carleton repeated his first long journey, going by sea to New Orleans, thence up the Mississippi and Missouri to Fort Leavenworth, where the 1st Dragoons were then stationed.

By the winter of 1850 the tide of migration to California had swelled to tremendous proportions, with migrants clamoring for information on the safest and easiest ways to reach the land of gold. Fort Leavenworth was the crossroad of the continent during this period, and Carleton carefully collected and collated all available information on routes to the west. On February 1, 1950, he addressed a lengthy letter to the editors of the *Intelligencer*, saying, "The importance of knowing each morning where the next halting place for the night is to be, is very great, even when one's journey lies through a settled country; it is greater still on the wide prairies, where seldom the traveler is met who can impart the necessary information in this respect."[13] Following this introductory sentence was information on all of the known routes to California, as complete as interrogation of scores of people could make it.

Carleton's stay at Fort Leavenworth was of relatively short duration. In 1851 the greater part of the 1st Dragoons, now commanded by Carleton's old mentor at the Cavalry School of Application, Edwin Vose Sumner, moved to the newly conquered territory of New Mexico.

New Mexico had been part of the Union for only four years. The Mexican war had seen the country invaded by the hated *gringo*, and there had been a frantic rebellion against the newcomers. The rebellion had been ruthlessly suppressed, and Carleton's old company commander, Captain Burgwin, had been killed in the storming of Taos. The people were still sullen, and a constant display of force was considered necessary to remind them of the danger of resisting the new regime. In addition, the bands of Apaches and Navahos raided settlements industriously, making life a hazard for people in outlying settlements and ranches. Continual movement was the order of the day for the Army, and in Carle-

13. Reprinted in Stryker's *American Register and Magazine*, July, 1850 (Vol. 4), pp. 246-252. The Ayer Collection of Americana, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

ton's own words, he "engaged in many campaigns and scouts; among the *latter was one for the exploration of the ruins of Gran Quivira.*"

The expedition to Gran Quivira appears to have been primarily for scientific purposes, and was made just before Christmas, 1853. The weather was bitter, and the march was attended by discomfort that was little short of hardship. Carleton's report of the expedition, and his conclusions (logical, even though later proven erroneous) that the ruins were of Christian origin, were published in the *Ninth Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution.*

Although he had been on the frontier for the greater part of thirteen years by this time, his New England mind was still unreconciled to the squalor of the Mexican villages and the unorthodox ways of the natives. Referring, in his report, to a village through which the expedition marched twice on its wintry march, he said, "From what we have observed during our second visit to this place, this Botany Bay of New Mexico, we have concluded that our former estimate of the inhabitants was premature and ill-judged; we now believe that there is not one single redeeming trait of disposition or habits to be found within its borders."[14]

Needless to say, there was neither parcel post nor railway express to New Mexico in the middle decade of the last century, nor were the few merchants able to satisfy the wants of the Americans in the territory. Carleton maintained a long correspondence with the Boston jewelry firm of Bigelow Brothers and Kennard, who evidently acted as his agents in "the States."[15] His chatty correspondence with the firm not only reveals something of his personal affairs, but gives a vivid picture of the life of an officer on the far frontier. The dragoons moved out from their posts on brief notice, and usually not knowing how long it would be before they would return. Mention was made of a fight with Apaches by one company of dragoons, in which twenty-three men were killed and twenty-three wounded, out of a total of sixty present in

14. Ninth *Annual Report* of the Smithsonian Institution, pp. 296-316.

15. For a complete microfilm of this correspondence I am indebted to the Baker Library, Harvard University School of Business Administration.

the fight. Carleton's own company was in pursuit of Jicarilla Apaches for seventy-six consecutive days, finally surprising them on the fourth of June, on the summit of Fischer's Peak. Although Bigelow Brothers and Kennard were in the jewelry business, they accepted from Carleton a commission to obtain a fine, black beaver hat for Kit Carson, with whom Carleton had laid (and lost) a wager as to the time when the Indians would be overtaken.

Carleton's correspondence with the Boston firm continued until the summer of 1856, when he was suddenly ordered to Washington for duty. For almost a year he was engaged in the study of the reports which Captain George B. McClellan had made upon his observations in Europe. Carletons duty was to analyze the reports to determine what European cavalry practices could be adapted to the American service.

This must have been a pleasant duty, after the severe service on the frontier, but it ended when General Scott sent him in command of some three or four hundred recruits, across the Great Plains to New Mexico. Carleton's service in New Mexico this time, however, was brief, and immediately afterward, he spent almost a year in Virginia, recruiting for his own regiment, the 1st Dragoons. And that, except for a brief visit or so, was destined to be his last service east of the Rocky Mountains.

During Carleton's tour of duty in the East, the 1st Dragoons had been transferred from New Mexico to the Pacific Coast, and he rejoined his company in the autumn of 1858, at Fort Tejon, California.

Pacific Coast service did not mean sitting quietly in garrison, any more than did service in New Mexico. Within a short time after his arrival at Fort Tejon, he was detailed to escort the funds for the payment of the Army in Utah, and was given the additional mission of burying the victims of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and of conducting an investigation of the circumstances surrounding that tragedy. His investigation was painstaking and thorough. It was conducted with some difficulty, for two years had elapsed since the massacre, and the evidence was both stale and conflicting.

In his conclusions, however, he left no doubt that he believed that the massacre was perpetrated by the whites of Utah, aided by a few Indians. "I observed that nearly every skull I saw had been shot through with rifle or revolver bullets."

Under his direction the dragoons erected a monument over the bones they collected, and surmounted it with a rude cross, upon which was carved, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."[16]

The next two years must have been a restful interlude, after the almost continual movement and excitement of the preceding few years. The Indians of California were relatively docile, and were unwarlike in the extreme. Doubtless there were small scouting expeditions, but no record of such has been preserved. In the "States" people were increasingly preoccupied with the dispute between North and South, but there is no indication that Carleton took any particular interest in the controversy. He did not share the popular New England prejudice against slaveholders; in fact, he had owned at least one slave, and probably more, and his *Prairie Logbooks* included numerous casual references to slaves belonging to officers of the regiment—references indicating that he regarded slavery as something to be taken for granted.

But the breaking of the storm in the spring of 1861 soon affected even the placid backwater of Fort Tejon. As mentioned earlier in this paper, Carleton and the two pitifully small companies of dragoons from Fort Tejon were soon ordered to Los Angeles, to overawe the outspoken Southern sympathizers of that rather somnolent Southern and Mexican pueblo.

Carleton himself was not long in Los Angeles. Within a few days after the Fourth of July celebration in honor of the Union, he received secret orders from the Department Commander, who was his old instructor and regimental commander, Edwin Vose Sumner, now a brigadier general, to go to San Bernardino, in civilian clothes, and without reveal-

16. Document No. 605, House of Representatives, 57th Congress, 1st Session, *Special Report of the Mountain Meadow Massacre*, by J. H. Carleton, Brevet Major, United States Army, Captain, First Dragoons.

ing his identity, to investigate and report upon disturbing information which had been received from that place.[17]

He spent several days conducting his investigation, and had barely settled himself again at his camp near Los Angeles, when abrupt orders required him to turn over his command to the next ranking officer, and hasten to San Francisco. The order informed him briefly that he was to command a force destined for service on the Plains.

During that exciting summer of 1861 the Regular Army garrisons were withdrawn from the posts of the Far West, and by the middle of the summer the problem of safeguarding the Overland Mail route had become acute. Consequently, in August of that year, the Governor of California was requested by the Secretary of War to enroll a regiment of volunteer infantry and a reduced regiment of cavalry, to be moved to Nevada and Utah at once, to guarantee the continued movement of the mail. The requisition specified that the command of the infantry regiment was to be given to Brevet Major James Henry Carleton, and stated positively that nobody else would be allowed to command it.

It is altogether beyond the scope of this paper to trace the various steps by which the force destined for service on the northern plains found itself scattered through Southern California at the close of 1861, reenforced by volunteer regiments raised subsequent to the first requisition for California troops. It happened, however, that Carleton's force was ideally located when the new Department Commander, Brigadier General George Wright, decided that the troops at his disposal could best be used to reopen the southern mail route, instead of waiting for the melting of the snows in the Sierras to make the movement onto the northern route practicable.

In this day of paved roads, air lines, radio communication and radar detection, it is difficult to visualize, even for the most imaginative, the difficulties that faced a military expedition in the Southwest ninety years ago. California furnished almost nothing in the way of manufactured goods.

17. *Official Records*, p. 538.

The best roads were mere tracks. From the Coast to the Rio Grande the only water, except for the oasis around Tucson, was the scanty trickle in the widely spaced wells that had been dug for the Butterfield stage line. All food, all supplies and all equipment for a force moving into Arizona and New Mexico must be carried with the force. Before any move could be made in strength, it was necessary to accumulate enormous quantities of hay, barley, flour, clothing, ammunition and medicine. And the mere accumulation was only the beginning. These articles must be transported, and the transportation required wagons, mules, horses, harness, horseshoes, horseshoe nails, blacksmith's equipment, and a thousand and one items that would scarcely occur to the layman.

It must be remembered that at the outbreak of the Civil War no commander had a trained technical staff, to which he could delegate working out the details of a plan. Every item of Carleton's plans for carrying out his mission had to be determined by himself for the simple reason that there was nobody else in his command who was qualified to do it. Nevertheless, his initial plan and his first requisition for the necessary supplies and equipment were submitted to the Department Commander within a few days after he first received his orders—and the plan and the requisition will still strike a military student as being complete down to the minutest of details. At his headquarters in Los Angeles he must have worked day and night, without rest or cessation.

Nor were planning and supply the only problems Carleton had to solve. The rigorous training he imposed upon the troops produced discontent, resulting shortly in open mutiny by one company, and rumblings in others. The situation was charged with serious danger, and had Carleton been an unfeeling martinet there would have been trouble. However, his long service and association with frontiersmen and soldiers enabled him to guage the situation clearly, and a few quiet words of explanation, joined with an appeal to the men's patriotism, quickly calmed the trouble. There was constant friction with the pro-Secessionist population of Southern California, resulting in attempts to blacken Carleton's

reputation, even to the point of rumors insinuating that he was secretly a Confederate sympathizer! Unprecedented rains in the winter of 1861-62 turned Southern California into a quagmire, abruptly interrupting all preparations for several weeks.

Not the least difficult of the problems which he had to solve was that of obtaining information as to what was transpiring on the other side of the Arizona desert. Very little was known about the desert itself, and it interposed an effective screen between California and information about Confederate forces and activities to the eastward. How effectively Carleton solved this particular problem may be judged by the fact that his agents obtained information as to the Confederate force and activities at Tucson from the Confederate commander himself!

With preparations complete, and the country finally dry enough for the movement of troops and wagons, the expedition got under way in April, 1862. Carleton had hoped to surprise and capture the small Confederate force at Tucson, but one of his most trusted officers rode blindly into a trap and was captured. With all hope of surprise lost, the force moved across the Colorado, and plodded into the Arizona desert. Following an unprecedented rainy season, the spring and early summer of 1862 were the hottest on record up to that time. Men and animals suffered acutely from the heat and alkali dust, and their thirst reached such proportions that they were willing to drink water from a well from which the fragments of a murdered man had been fished![18] There was a minor skirmish a few days after leaving Fort Yuma, and there was a savage little fight in Picacho Pass, but early in June, 1862, the Column from California entered and occupied Tucson without opposition.

The march across the desert had taken over a month. Supplies were exhausted and wagons had shrunk in the dry heat. A period of rest, reorganization and further accumulation of supplies was necessary before the long move to the Rio Grande could be undertaken.

18. James Henry Carleton, *Report of* 1863.

The next few weeks in Tucson were busy ones. Almost the first act as the advance elements of the Column moved into Tucson was to round up and arrest the desperados and the known and suspected Confederate sympathizers, and deport them to Fort Yuma. Since the Confederates had been in occupation of Tucson for months, nearly all of the few Americans who had remained were suspected, probably with justification, of being pro-Confederate.

Among those arrested was former Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry, a northern-born graduate of West Point, who had resigned from the Army several years previously, to own and operate the Patagonia Mine. This arrest produced repercussions which finally reached the Senate (and died there), and for the remainder of his life Mowry fulminated against Carleton, charging him with all sorts of crimes. As a matter of fact the controversy over Mowry's arrest occasionally is heard to this day, but the fact remains that Mowry, in spite of his northern birth, had been active at the Charleston Convention, which had nominated Breckenridge as the candidate of the pro-slavery wing of the Democratic Party, and had been friendly with the Confederates when the latter occupied Arizona.

The vaguely defined area which was called Arizona had, before the Civil War, been included in the Territory of New Mexico. It was, however, so remote from the seat of the territorial government that for all practical purposes it was entirely without government of any kind. No civil officials had ever been appointed, nor had any courts ever sat at a point nearer than Mesilla. Within a few days after the occupation of Tucson, Carleton issued a brief proclamation, announcing the establishment of a military government for the territory. With himself as Military Governor, he named necessary territorial officials, prescribed the establishment of military courts, in lieu of the non-existent civil courts, and prescribed necessary rules and regulations for the government. Carleton's provisional military government, which was intended to exist only until such time as a legal civil government could be established, was the first organized gov-

ernment in what is now the State of Arizona. He introduced law and order in an area where law and order had never been known before.

Various bands of the Apaches had been sporadically at war with the whites for several years before the Civil War. However, during the march across Arizona there had been no hostile encounters with the Indians, and Carleton hoped earnestly that peace with the Apaches might be maintained. Consequently he issued, while at Tucson, strict orders that Indians should not be fired upon, except in self defense, and every effort was made to gain the confidence of the Indians. He reported to higher headquarters that he hoped to induce the principal chiefs of the Apaches to come to Fort Stanford (old Fort Breckenridge, which had been reoccupied, and renamed in honor of the Governor of California) for a conference, and to receive presents. Ironically enough, almost at the exact moment when he was writing this report, Apaches were killing two messengers whom he had despatched with messages for General Canby, in New Mexico. A few days later, the first detail of the Column from California was approached in the Apache Pass by a group of Indians bearing a white flag. When the powwow was finished, it was discovered that two soldiers were missing, and a little later, their mutilated bodies were found in a nearby ravine. The next detachment, escorting supplies, was suddenly attacked on the same spot by overwhelming numbers of Indians, and only the fortunate fact that they had two small mountain howitzers (a weapon with which the Apache was totally unfamiliar) prevented disaster.

Incidentally, the Apaches seem to have regarded it as extremely unfair that the soldiers "fired wagons at us!"

Carleton, who had received his promotion to the grade of brigadier general shortly before, did not know of these incidents until he reached Apache Pass himself, and saw the graves of his men. From that moment on, for the next twenty years, there was almost continuous war between the whites and Chiricahua Apaches. However, at the time it was impossible to divert any of the units of the Column from California from their main mission, and the troops were pushed

on toward the Rio Grande. The only diversion was to send wagon loads of supplies, with a strong escort, to the Pinos Altos Mines, where it was reported that the people were so closely invested by Apaches as to be in actual danger of starvation.

The leading echelon of the Column, under the immediate command of Major E. E. Eyre, 1st California Cavalry, reached the Rio Grande on the Fourth of July, and hoisted the national colors over the ruins of Fort Thorn. The remainder of the Column closed on the Rio Grande in the latter part of the month, with men and animals thin and tired, but unbelievably toughened by their long march. The Confederates, badly mauled several weeks before by Colorado and New Mexico forces, under the command of General Canby, had made haste to retreat to Texas, upon learning that a Federal force from California was about to cut them off from Texas. Consequently, after arriving at the Rio Grande, there was nothing for the Californians to do, in the way of fighting Confederates, except to gather in numbers of prisoners, and reoccupy the posts that had been lost to the Union a year before.

Within a few days after his arrival in New Mexico, Carleton received sudden orders, summoning him to Santa Fe, to relieve General E. R. S. Canby in command of the Department of New Mexico. Canby had received orders transferring him to the seat of war in the East, and lost no time in turning over his command of New Mexico as soon as Carleton became available to replace him.

With Carleton's assumption of the command in New Mexico, the Column from California was merged with the other troops in the Department of New Mexico, and ceased to exist as a separate military entity, although the returns of the California troops were still rendered to the commanding general of the Department of the Pacific.

The new commander of the Department of New Mexico found himself faced with serious problems. The war in the Valley of the Rio Grande had not been long, nor were large forces involved, but it had been fought with savagery and vindictiveness. The country had been ravaged by the Con-

federates in their retreat to Texas, and was in a condition close to anarchy.

Carleton bore down sharply upon known sympathizers with the Confederacy, required the Mexican population to clean up their towns and pueblos, and gave open encouragement to farmers and traders. In order to effect a measure of control over the movement of persons whose activities might be questionable, he instituted an iron-clad system of passes, from which he allowed no exceptions. The majority of the population took this latter measure as a matter of course, but it produced great indignation among officials who fancied that they should be exempt from and superior to orders of any military commander, even in time of war. There is no evidence, however, that even the direst threats of political officeholders caused the quiet Maine Yankee to vary in the slightest degree from his decided course of action.

The most serious problem which confronted the new Department Commander lay in the two Indian wars which were going on simultaneously. The Apaches made life a hazard for everyone, except in the larger towns, and the Navahos were scarcely less dangerous. Vigorous and continuous campaigns were started at once against both tribes. Against the Apaches the results were not spectacular, and the wars against the Apaches were destined to last for about twenty years more. Within a year, however, it was again possible for settlers to move into the valleys, and for prospectors to search through the mountains.

Against the Navahos, the results were decisive and permanent. A force under the immediate command of Carleton's old friend and guide, Kit Carson, penetrated into the Navaho country in the dead of winter, and pushed entirely through Cañon de Chelly, which the Navahos had believed was impregnable. The greater part of the tribe surrendered, and were transferred to a reservation established in the valley of the Pecos River, where it was planned and hoped that they would be enabled to support themselves by agriculture.

The transfer of an entire tribe to new lands, beyond the limits of their ancestral homes, may strike a modern as being unduly drastic, but it should be remembered that the trans-

fer of Indians to reservations where they could, it was hoped, be taught the arts of peace, and made self-supporting, was the recognized policy of the time. Efforts were made to provide irrigation water by building a dam across the Pecos, and the labor of the California volunteers was freely used in attempting to make Bosque Redondo habitable for the exiled Navahos. "Carleton made heroic efforts to meet the situation, and his disgruntled soldiers worked like Trojans."[19]

But work as they might, Bosque Redondo could not be made habitable for the number of people concentrated there, and in due course of time the Navahos were permitted to return to their own country. From that day to this, they have remained a peaceful people.

At the close of the Civil War, James Henry Carleton was brevetted to the grade of major general, and promoted to the substantive grade of colonel. He was assigned to command the 4th Cavalry, but it appears that during the few remaining years of his life, he actually spent little time in active command of his regiment. After a short visit to his old home in Maine, for the first time in many years, he contracted pneumonia, and died at San Antonio, Texas, in 1873.

During his lifetime James Henry Carleton was a controversial figure, and to this day he remains one. A strong and positive character always make enemies, especially when he is in a position of responsibility and authority, and Carleton was no exception to this rule. No strong character is ever deterred from his course by criticism, and Carleton never once gave the slightest heed to the chorus of recrimination that was raised against him. He followed the course of action that seemed to him to be the best, and without regard to what might be said by personal enemies or by those who thought that they knew the problems of the Civil and Indian wars in the Southwest better than he did.

Among the Union generals of the Civil War he is relatively unknown, because of the isolated theater in which he served and because he fought no major battles. If he had

19. Charles Amsden, "The Navajo Exile at Bosque Redondo," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 8 (January, 1933), p. 44. By permission of the New Mexico Historical Society.

served in the better known campaigns in the East, there can be no doubt that he would have left a name far more famous than it is. His organization, planning and management of the movement of a large force from California prove military ability of the highest order. It is the considered opinion of the writer of this paper that James Henry Carleton was an outstanding soldier and a great commander.

EXCERPTS FROM THE MEXICAN DIARY OF CHARLES ALBERT JAMES, 1871-72

Edited by FLEMING H. JAMES *

Introduction

JAMES'S account of his visit to the northern frontier of Mexico furnishes a glimpse into social, economic, and military conditions during a fermentative period when Mexico was approaching the threshhold of significant change. Other sources are rare and obscure. The diary is also a literary document, revealing the observer along with the data observed.

Charles Albert James, son of Henry James and Eliza M. Wills James, was born July 10, 1841, on a plantation in Fluvanna County, Virginia. His father was a prosperous wholesale merchant. In 1859, Charles entered the University of Virginia, concentrating in language studies, but in 1861 he became a cavalry lieutenant in the state's "Laurel Brigade." During a brief captivity in 1863, he contracted lingering pulmonary tuberculosis at Point Lookout prison.

Seeking a warmer climate, Charles came to Texas in 1866, and at Bastrop in 1868, together with two younger brothers and another Virginian, organized the Texas Military Institute, a senior college, which moved to Austin in 1870. Charles served as professor of languages, literature, and history.[1] But his malady remained; hence in 1871, he

* The editor wishes to express gratitude to members of the author's family, especially to Henry James and W. S. James, of Abilene, Texas, for making material, including the diary itself, available in the Fleming W. James collection, archives of the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, at the University of Texas. The editor is grateful for kindnesses to archivist Winnie Allen, and is also indebted for suggestions and encouragement to Dean L. L. Click and Professor D. M. McKeithan. James's diary was written hastily and left unrevised; hence for the sake of clarity, the editor has taken numerous liberties with the author's punctuation, and has standardized a few other items of form like entry headings.

[Mr. Fleming H. James is a graduate student in history at The University of Texas]

1. See the Austin *Democratic Statesman*, Dec. 14, 1871, p. 4; the *Texas Almanac for 1873* (Galveston, 1873), pp. 106 ff.; [John G. James], *Decennial Register of the Texas Military Institute for 1868 to 1878* (Baltimore [1878]); also Daniel Morley McKeithan (ed.), *Selected Letters: John Garland James to Paul Hamilton Hayne and Mary Middleton Michel Hayne* (Austin, 1946).

sought a cure in Mexico, returning home a year later much improved.

Instead of returning to the T. M. I., Charles married Margaret E. Toole (d. 1885) and took a commercial job; yet on a business jaunt to Mexico soon afterward, his health again broke. Narrowly failing election to State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1873, Charles and a brother opened a law office at Weatherford, Texas, but his health declined under courtroom strain. He purchased a ranch, intending semi-retirement, but died at Weatherford, September 25, 1875. He was an Episcopalian, also a Mason. An obituary declared:

> In law, in science, in literary attainments, he possessed an enlarged understanding. As a scholar, we doubt whether he had a superior in the state. But especially was he remarkable and excellent in all the virtues. . . . He had an ability for making and retaining friends that we have never seen equaled; in this respect there was a magical attraction about him.[2]

While in Mexico in 1871, Charles viewed an impoverished and unstable nation. Although gaining independence in 1820, Mexico had been internally seared in a conflict between the liberal reformers and the wealthy vested interests, ostensibly a fight between the state and the decadent Mexican Church. The masses, the bewildered Indians, however, had lost all power of resistance, all hope and initiative; their conquerors were growing richer, while they could grow no poorer.

When in 1865 President Benito Júarez, supported by General Porfirio Díaz, led the liberal Reform party to victory, their theoretical rights of man lacked any economic bulwark. Industry and commerce were stifled by cumbersome restrictions. Some regions were virtually autonomous. After 1867, Generals Jeronimo Naranjo and Francisco Treviño "held the states of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila in absolute isolation;

2. Unidentified clipping (presumably from the Weatherford *Times*) in the U. T. Barker Archives. See also the Austin *State Gazette*, Oct. 3, 1875, p. 2; and the Bastrop *Advertiser*, Oct. 9, 1875, p. 2.

. . . they ruled to suit their fancy, alternating power amicably."[3]

Júarez was re-elected in 1867, but his policies met hard resistance; the fruits of reform had begun to sour. Anxious to continue reconstruction, Júarez was again a candidate in 1871, his chief opponent being Porfirio Díaz. When the new Congress ratified for Júarez, October 12th, the Díaz partisans charged fraud. Blood flowed in the capital; and in the south, Governor Felix Díaz rallied Oaxaca to arms. On the northern frontier, Governor Treviño's army quickly overran Coahuila, moving toward Durango.[4] Eager to defeat centralization, Treviño even recalled from exile his old enemy General Quiroga. Then on November 8th, Díaz finally accepted leadership of the revolt, issuing his "Plan of La Noria," proposing a provisional government, reconstruction to be effected through state delegates. The frontier welcomed his appeal for "more liberty and less government," but staunch liberals remained wary.[5]

General Sostenes Rocha squelched a mutiny at the capital; yet Saltillo fell late in 1871. Revolutionist General Donato Guerra had meanwhile overrun Durango. So Treviño marched 8,000 rebels toward the capital.[6] In January, 1872, nevertheless, the revolt in Oaxaca was quelled, and Díaz himself arrived at Zacatecas in February. Rocha whirled back north, and on March 2, charging spectacularly up Bufa hill, he smashed Treviño, Naranjo, and Garcia de la Cadena.[7] Treviño and Naranjo, however, withdrew to Monterrey, forming another army and shattering a large government

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3. José R. del Castillo, *Historia de la Revolución Social de México* (Mexico, D. F., 1915), p. 42 (transl.). See also Carleton Beals, *Porfirio Diaz, Dictator of Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 191 ff.

4. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Works* (San Francisco, 1888-89), XIV, 380n.; and Juan E. Guerra, *Lijera Reseña que hace El C. Juan E. Guerra de los Acontecimientos que Tuvieron Lugar en los Estados del Norte* (Mexico, D.F., 1873), pp. 4-15.

5. See Ciro B. Ceballos, *Aurora y Ocaso, 1867-1906: Gobierno de Lerdo* (Mexico, D.F., 1912), pp. 31 ff.

6. See Bancroft, *Works*, XIV, 381 ff., and XVI, 624; also Beals, *Porfirio Diaz*, p. 182.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 183; and Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, *Memorias Inéditas* (Brownsville, 1912), p. 31 f; also text, note 24.

force in May. In Chihuahua, too, Díaz and Guerra scored several gains.[8]

On July 18, Júarez succumbed to a heart ailment, and Justice Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada succeeded. Rebel arms were rapidly traded for amnesty. Yet Lerdo too failed at controlling factional strife. So after another brief revolution, Díaz became president in 1877. The strong arm of Díaz furnished a transition period in which a strong central government was realized, opening the way for industrialization and the formation of a new economic bulwark. Long outlasting his time, Díaz himself was deposed by a young generation of liberals in 1910.

James's Diary

August 1, 1871. Hacienda of San Blas.[9] The house or houses form a hollow square, one story high and built of stone and adobes. It does not present a very prepossessing appearance, but is like all other large houses I have seen so far in its general aspect. The Don is a very pleasant gentleman and is lord of all he surveys, owning a hundred thousand acres of land in one body, shut in on three sides by mountains and watered by a number of clear streams. He says that he has grazing land enough to keep continually, in wet and dry weather, 40,000 head of cattle, beside the broad acres he irrigates and cultivates, raising immense crops of corn and wheat. He estimates his corn crop this summer at 9,000 bushels, only half a crop owing to the dry season. He says that not one drop of water has fallen for nine months and very little for a year; yet the streams continue to run, the cattle look fat, and the crops are reduced only one-half. His wheat was almost a failure, owing to a severe storm of wind & hail; hence he only made 3,000 bushels, his usual crop being 15,000.

8. See Ramon Prida, *De la Dictadura a la Anarquía!*, p. 26; and text, note 30; also Bancroft, *Works*, XIV, 384 n.; and James Creelman, *Díaz, Master of Mexico* (New York, 1912), p. 324.

9. After reaching Munquiz (or "Santa Rosa"), James and a new friend named Hibler traveled about fifty miles to the Hacienda (plantation) of San Blas, owned by Don Luis Cuna, to sample the renowned mineral waters there.

At *the House*, there are some 200 souls—men, women, & children— all his peons.[10] He seems to be greatly beloved by them and never uses harsh language towards them. His wife & children are absent on a visit. He gives me a fine horse to ride to the spring of San Lucas, about three miles distant in the mountains, where we spent the day to-day, . . . bathing twice and drinking often of the famous waters. . . .

August 2, 1871. Hacienda of San Blas. . . . I can scarcely realize than Don Luis commands the wealth he really does. His mode of life is such that a Va. negro would laugh to see it. The house is built of rough, soft rock, one story, & flat roof, with heavy gallery on the inside of the square; the floor is of dirt, which has to be kept moist or the dust is stifling, and some thirty or forty hogs amuse themselves by rooting into every corner, under the only bed-stead in the establishment, under your chairs, and occasionally running full tilt against you, to your great danger and disgust. Mex[ican] children of all ages, emotions, and of both sexes scamper about or wait upon you in the only dress Nature has given them. It is a fine country for students of the fine arts—Nature in all her naked charms calls upon her priests to worship. Horses are stabled in the court-yard, and one can scarce imagine the variety of *sweet* (?) sounds that welcome us home at evening and charm away all sense of weariness until we fall *willing* captives to the drowsy god. Our beds are spread upon coarse mats to keep them out of the dirt, and all manner of creeping things have a fine opportunity to cultivate our acquaintance. But the manner of eating is still more strange. If Don L[uis] possesses a knife and fork, I have not seen them. He allows us a spoon

10. Peons were persons held for debt. See George W. Hughes, "Memoir Descriptive of the March of a Division of the United States Army, under the Command of Brigadier General John E. Wool, from San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas to Saltillo, in Mexico," *U. S. Executive Documents, 1850*, Vol. X, No. 32, pp. 5-67. He states, "The system of peonage . . . keeps in bondage at least *four-fifths* of northern Mexico. No system of slavery can be more harsh and degrading. . . . And yet Mexico calls herself a free Country!" A substantial reform came late in 1872, but aspects of the system lingered past the turn of the century. See Beals, *Porfirio Diaz*, pp. 335-308; and John De Kay, *Dictators of Mexico: The Land where Hope Marches with Despair* (London, 1914), pp. 103-109.

apiece to stir & sip our coffee with, but teeth and fingers have to tear his tender kid, fat venison, and fine beef. A tortilla is at hand to take up the frijoles and gravy. . . . I have been greatly disappointed in the fruit & vegetables in this country. They are greatly inferior to those in Texas, even—the figs, peaches, & melons are small and of the poorest varieties. . . . And yet Don L[uis] is a man of fine sense, a good farmer, kind to his guests, and exceedingly jolly & full of fun in every way. . . .

August 6, 1871. Hacienda of San Blas. Being the holy Sabbath, we conclude to remain at the house and do without our water. Instead of a day of rest, however, Don Luis makes it his day for settlements with his peons, issues rations, kills beeves, &c. All the morning was consumed in issuing rations of corn, soap, beans, and lard, while the after-noon was given to beef. The day was the most disagreeable one I have spent here. No rain and a great dust all the time.

August 16, 1871. Santa Rosa. Early this morning, started for the mine of Cedral with Messrs Harris, Kapp, Berraine. . . . After a pleasant ride of about two hours, we reached the mouth of the cañon, where the company are erecting houses, furnace &c, preparatory to working the mine, which is a half-mile or more up the cañon.[11] The surface rock is a blue-grey limestone, cropping out in huge layers. A few Mexicans are at work for the Co., and others washing the surface dirt out in the little branch. I visited the main shaft, but did not go far in, as it is out of repair and no miners are at work. The ore contains a great deal of silver mixed with lead. It is considered by the natives the richest mine near S[anta] R[osa], & it is also the oldest. Just below the company's settlement is a mine of fine bituminous coal which they use. . . .

August 19, 1871. Santa Rosa. . . . I walked up to the *"Mills"* of Messrs Kapp & Munsenburger, some half a mile

11. J. H. Harris, of Harris & Randle, was president of the San Rafael Co., which owned the Cedral, and in which William Harris and Robert Harris were also associated. Don Florentino Berraine was James's host for a time at Santa Rosa. Kapp is identified in the following entry.

from the Plaza. Here I was astonished to see what I had never seen before: a flour & grist mill, saw-mill, stave-machine (invented by Mr Kapp), sugar-mill, boilers &c, and a distillery—all under one roof. The machinery is all driven by a brest-wheel; the water, taken from an irrigating creek. Mr. K[app], assisted by a younger brother, built every portion of the machinery at this point, importing his iron, &c, from the U. S. In another house, a few steps off, is his blacksmith shop and carpenter's shop. Everything is on a small scale, being experimental, but will be speedily increased with any demand that may arise. . . .

August 26, 1871. Santa Rosa. . . . The corn is now ripe, and the peons are gathering it, while other lots are only knee high and very green. The cane is looking fine. They plant two kinds here, the speckled cane (caña pinta) and the white (or caña Mexicana); both do well, so that it pays a very heavy profit upon the labor & money invested—good season, as much as $100.00 clear profit [per acre?]. Cotton matures finely here, but the usual wet season from July to October breeds worms to such a degree that it is not planted. A few plant a little tobacco, which matures finely, but is never fit for use, because the poor ignorant people do not know how to cure or keep it.

On yesterday, I went with Mr Munsenburger to see an old Mex[ican] mill, which he had purchased with the intention of erecting an oil-mill.[12] It is of the simplest construction, one perpendicular shaft being all. . . . This mill is 2½ miles from town, near the foot of the mountains; just above it are the smelting furnaces of the San Juan mine; a mile or so further is the mouth of the mine, in the side of the mountain a few hundred feet above the smelting. . . . The company have not begun work yet in the San Juan.[13] There are 300 or 400 silver mines near here, all of which yield a

12. i.e., cotton-seed oil.

13. The San Juan was being renovated under new management. See Bancroft, *Works*, XIV, 514 f., and *Resources and Development of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1893), p. 126 f. Elsewhere in James's diary appears this notation: "The Miss., San Raphiel, Cedral & Conejo Mining Co. — / San Juan mine. El Sacrimento. / Santa Gertrudis el alto y el bajo. / El Pavillon."

rich lead-ore and more or less silver. Every citizen of any standing owns from one to half a dozen silver mines and just works enough to prevent the Gov't from giving his to some one else. The mountains are public property, and the mines are claimed & held by right of discovery. But if one does not work his mine for four consecutive months, another person may "*denounce*" him, as it is here called, and claim the privilege of working it himself. . . .

September 18, 1871. Santa Rosa. The 16, which was Saturday, corresponds to the 4 July in the U. S., and the citizens of this republic celebrate it with more enthusiasm than I had thought they would exhibit upon any occasion.[14] The Plaza was cleared of weeds & grass; all the old muskets about town were rubbed up; the only piece of ordnance, brought from its sacred shelter; and rockets and fireworks, prepared for this birth-day of Liberty. That cannon, though, . . . is stocked musket fashion, but unfortunately the stock is broken off at the breech. It rests on a pivot & would be fine for ducks. . . . The charge was rammed home with a rusty old crow-bar, when a slow match was lighted, and all "stood from under." Eleven guns of various makes and ages, in the hands of a like number of sportive lads, were then discharged, while the three bells of the church united their hoarse and discordant tones to the efforts of the military to announce to the citizens, slumbering and peacefully dreaming, that the hour of mid-night was passed, that the glorious 16th had arrived, and that the authorities, ever watchful and careful of the peoples' liberties and the peoples' holidays, had not forgotten the joyful occasion.

Around and around the plaza marched that devoted dozen, keeping *various* time to the music—a flute, guitar, and fiddle, playing all sorts of waltzes & polkas—while on each corner, some aspiring orator, full of glorious memories & mescal, congratulated the republic on her past achievements and launched his thunder at the diminished heads of tyrants, amid vivas and hic-hic-oughs, until the martial ardor of the

14. On September 15, 1810, Father Miguel Hidalgo, at his Church in Dolores, raised the cry of revolt against Spanish tyranny, sparking the Mexican Revolution.

chivalry could no longer contain itself, and away went the charges of powder again. This fearful din disturbed my dreams for awhile, but finally I yielded to the sweet influence of the drowsy god and did not awake until the sun had risen.

I peeped out and saw those gay and festive youths load & fire again, & proudly floating from the city-hall, a tumble-down old house, the emblem of Mex[ican] independence: a tri-color of dingy red, faded green, and dirty white between, on which a fierce eagle stood with outstretched wings. I heard those horrid bells, only a hundred paces off, ringing as if the whole village was on fire and they were soon to go too. One enterprising citizen in the N.W. quarter of town got out a flag on his own account, and all of those whose houses fronted on the plaza dressed the outside of their iron-barred windows with white & red curtains; some had, however, speckled calico with deep yellow borders. In fact, there was considerable diversity of opinion as to the national colors, if one was to judge from these external decorations on the houses. There was no parade of citizens, no public dinner, no enthusiastic crowd, no inspired orator to awaken national recollections, but a quiet public washed its face and put on its holiday suit. The ladies spent the day peeping out of doors at that devoted band of heroes who were condemned to give expression to the concentrated patriotism of this enlightened community. I had often noticed their disposition to put off everything like labor upon another, but must confess that I was a little surprised to see them rejoice by proxy. There is nothing like the force of habit. . . .

The afternoon passed quietly, as the aforesaid band had rather weakened on the patriotic; and to use an old army phrase, the firing became slack. Towards night the heavens were overcast with angry-looking clouds, rain began to fall, and the baile was postponed. Several American gentlemen, residents here, were determined that we strangers should not be disappointed and hastily sent out invitations to many of the belles & beaux to meet at their house, "la casa pinta," and "trip the light fantastic toe". . . .

October 15, 1871. Santa Rosa. . . . A few rash youths, some dozen or more, have been to the wars—the capture of the little villages of San Fernando and Piedras Negras, where some fifty Gov't troops were stationed. It is said that one unlucky fellow was wounded in the heavy engagements which preceded the capture of those devoted villages & the custom-house. The two parties are about equally divided for Juarez and Diaz, the two leaders.[15] There is no enthusiasm here, no organization, and no chief. The people attend to their ordinary duties as usual. . . .

November 1, 1871. Santa Rosa. The revolution still drags its slow length along. So far the whole of eastern Coahuila has been overrun by the revolutionists. Saltillo still holds out, and the Juarez party seem strong enough there to keep it. No soldiers have come here yet. . . . The Indians here take no part in the war, but most of them are absent on the "big fall-campaign"—gone to the lower Rio Grande, and to the Texas side, I expect. Mexico, a Pottowattami chief, is here; the two most influential Kickapoo chiefs, Wappassi and Sappigua, are gone.[16] They will soon return laden with buck-skins and spoils of war. I think the Mexicans use them to steal horses and cattle from Texas, and then pay them in money.[17] They

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15. It was not until November 8th, however, that Díaz accepted leadership of the revolt.

16. The Potawatomis and Kickapoos, originally from the Great Lakes region, had been settled in Kansas during the 'forties. Around 1852, groups entered Mexico. See Frederick W. Hodge, *Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin No. 30* (Washington, D. C., 1906, 1910), II, 289-293, and I, 684. Some interpreneurs at Santa Rosa were friendly toward the Kickapoos, and were in turn shielded from other marauding bands. In 1871 the U. S. was arranging for the return of a group; see *U. S. Executive Documents, 1871-2*, Vol. I, Part 1, No. 1, pp. 648 ff.

17. Indian incursions from Mexico had become frequent. A U. S. grand jury, reported in the Dallas *Herald*, April 6, 1872, p. 2, declared that "at least 5000 cattle monthly have been . . . driven off into Mexico . . . since the close of the civil war." The Austin *State Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1872, p. 1, remarked that the Mexican insurrection had "augmented the number of Mexican cattle thieves. . . . Mexican authorities are generally associates of the robbers." Stern measures were advocated. It was during the period that Charles's brother, Fleming W. James, heading the Texas Militia, became a leader in a short-lived movement aiming at the conquest of Mexico. Mexican officials, nevertheless, argued that their own ranches were victimized, while the most troublesome Indians had come from the U. S. See *Reports of the Committee of Investigation Sent in 1873 by the Mexican Government to the Frontier of Texas* (New York, 1875). During 1879-80, at any rate, harmony was restored through co-operative agreements.

do not bring many horses here. The Govt gave the two tribes 400 beeves about a month ago.

November 8, 1871. Castaños. . . . We learned some particulars on the capture of Ceinegas by the Diestas. It appears that the inhabitants were generally Juaristas and were supported by about 40 regular soldiers. The commander of the Diestas, Nicavor Valdez, appeared before the place with some 600 troops and demanded the surrender of the town. This was refused, and the fight began. The regular troops deserted the citizens at the first fire, and most of the people became demoralized, but three families barricaded their houses and ascended to their roofs to fight. One of these men, Mr. Appolonio Garcia, an old gentleman of about 80, with his three sons succeeded in keeping off the enemy for a long time and until they had put *hors de combat* about 30, seven of whom were killed outright. After a long time, the enemy succeeded in getting into the ground floor of his house, & the old gentleman sent his son down to bring up all the cartridges. The boy got the ammunition and was nearly to the top of the ladder when he fell, pierced through the brain by a carbine ball—some say at the hands of his father who took him for one of the enemy, & others that he was slain by the Diestas. . . .

November 18, 1871. Castaños. In company with Messrs Robt. Harris & Fly, I left this place for the mine of Portorillos on Monday last, and spent the afternoon & night there. The mine has fallen in and has not been worked for some time, but the same Company that owns the Cedral & other mines at S. Rosa have purchased it and are preparing to work it. They have two fine engines and pumps, as well as a circular saw, ready for work, and are getting up timber, building necessary houses, and repairing the main shafts. The ore is said to be very rich, and from the records of the tithes paid to the church at Monclova, the mine has yielded a very large amount. The work was discontinued by the former owners on account of water, which rose in the different

shafts in such quantities that they were unable to pump it out with the poor contrivances in their possession. . . .[18]

December 13, 1871. Hacienda of Sardinas.[19] . . . Yesterday late in the afternoon, I returned from hunting and had just eaten dinner, when a Mexican, frantic with fear, rushed his horse at full speed from the Hacienda a quarter of a mile above, shouting "los soldados! vienen! [the soldiers! coming!] get your horses out of the way." Three soldiers were on his heels and reached the mill in the same breath. The Dr had two [horses]; Mess[rs] Harrison & Siebert one each, grazing in front of the house, and they pushed on after them. In five minutes, the soldiers had lassoed three, Mr. Siebert's alone getting off. The soldiers then returned to the Hacienda; and while they were gone, I took our two Mex[ican] servants, and with the assistance of Mr Fly caught Siebert's horse & tied him off in the chaparal, while the others hid our arms and valuables. Scarcely had this been done, when an officer with a squad rode up to the house and said that he had been told that we had some fine guns, rifles, pistols, &c, and that he had orders to get them. We told him that none were in the house, but that he could look for himself, for we had hid them. He said he expected as much, but got down & looked carelessly through the house. Of course he did not find any, and we refused to find them for him; so he returned without any.

The Dr and S[iebert] then went up to get back the three horses and found that the force consisted of some 175 or 200 under the command of Lt. Col. Bueno, being a portion of Col. Pedro Alvincula Valdez' command on its way from Cienega to Piedras Negras.[20] The other portion having gone through San Buena. The Lt. Col. Bueno is one of the greatest scoundrels in the country, and as all the rest is only a robber. He took all the horses belonging to the Hacienda, although a blood relation of the proprietor, feasted on the best in the

18. Cf. Hughes, "Memoir Descriptive," p. 23, and Bancroft, *Resources*.

19. James was visiting two Virginians, Dr. Francis L. Bronaugh (b. 1837) and Calvin Siebert, joint owners of "El Molino del Norte," or the Northern Mill, on that plantation, some fifteen miles from San Buena Ventura.

20. Valdez's regiment was retreating after the fall of Saltillo; see note 21.

house, and had his milch cows killed for beef rather than wait an hour for beeves. We tried to get the horses back again this morning for an hour, but could not. He refused to give a receipt stating that he had taken them, and we had to be contented with his promise to return them as soon as he reached the next point where fresh horses could be obtained. He is a regular officer of the army of the Gov't or Juarez party, was drunk all the time, and took along with him in some gentleman's carriage two prostitutes. He even went so far as to threaten to press us into service if we did not go away, but we only invited him to "try it on" & see how it would fit. He found out that he could not frighten us and then became very polite.

He had a shattered, ragged, unclad, & bankrupt fragment of a company of infantry, two or three pieces of cavalry companies, and one of artillery, with a few carts. The artillery consisted of five pieces—two, inch and a half bore, smooth bores, made one in Mexico & the other the maker was ashamed to put his name on; one twelve pound howitzer, about three feet long and of excellent make, I think French; the fourth was a little morter for twelve pound shells. Each piece was drawn by one mule, and the rude shafts were used for trails when in battery. The whole affair was unique—the harnesses of raw-hide, and the men seemed to be of the same material.

December 24, 1871. Castaños. . . . Saltillo has fallen, and the whole state is now in the hands of the Diez party.[21] Monclova has been made the capital, and El Sn. Don Anacleto Falcon made Governor. We found a company of cavalry here when we arrived, but all are gone now in pursuit of the last band of Juaristas under Pedro Winker & Bueno, who are now in Piedras Negras and I suppose will soon be in Texas. It is reported that the whole country has revolted. . . .

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21. Saltillo lay under siege from early October to December 4th. See Guerra, *Lijera Reseña*, pp. 7-15. The Austin *Democratic Statesman*, Dec. 14, 1871, p. 1, reported, "Saltillo is . . . surrendered. Revolutionists marching on San Luis Potosi from Saltillo & advancing from Monterey on Mier." At Monterrey, the revolutionists had already levied a second forced loan.

January 1, 1872. San Buena Ventura. . . . Last night (Sunday), as usual in this strange land, the little band of musicians met on the public square in front of the city-hall and treated us to a fair assortment of Mex[ican] music. There being no moon, a few saucers filled with tallow were stuck around and a small piece of lighted rag put in each, which gave light for the venders of sweet cakes, sausage, tortillas, beans, and coffee to make change, and for the belles and beaux to promenade by. The square was filled with the beauty of the town, trotting around in squads of from two to twenty in the hope of seeing a sweetheart, while the chivalry occupied the main hall of justice, intently interested in the all-absorbing game of *Monte*. . . .

January 20, 1872. San Buena Ventura. Last night the "Fiestas," or yearly festivals were duly opened. . . .[22] I attended services at the church early this morning and found the house crowded with fair señoritas and their mamas, but none of the other sex. After service I impudently stood at the door and watched the dusky damsels pass by in laughing bevvies, all decked out in holiday garb like so many birds of brilliant plumage. It is strange to note the great variety of shades and hues among them. Some are a very dark olive, and some fair and rosy with bright blue eyes and auburn hair. . . . About 11 O'clock the clown and toreros (bull-fighters) with the band paraded the principal streets, announcing . . . that the bull-fight would take place at 4 P.M. Accordingly I went to the square prepared for the sport. . . . The square is inclosed by a strong wall of adobes eight feet high; inside of which another pen, made by lashing stout poles to posts set deep in the earth, is surrounded by a thick screen of reeds, between which and the pen the people assemble, some on the ground peeping through and others on a platform above. The upper seats are for the aristocracy; and as I felt 25 cts worth of nobility, I took a seat among the upper ten. . . . Five toreros received the fierce animal with their brilliant cloths, and soon he was rushing at first one and then another. . . .

22. The holiday season lasts almost continuously from Christmas to Lent.

The same thing was done to another after letting this one out, until three had been worried down. . . .[23]

At 8 P.M. the procession by the priest with lights and the patron saint of San Buena, followed by a motley crowd, marched around the plaza to the music of the band playing the dead march or something of the kind. . . . As we desired the prayers of the righteous, we illuminated our windows and received the benediction of the blessed saint and the prayers of the jolly cura. Old and young of both sexes and all conditions are now enjoying the most exciting of all passions, the passion for gambling; . . . all bet, all laugh, all lose and call it fun.

February 7, 1872. San Buena Ventura. . . . The principal attraction at present is la comedia, or theatre. A poor affair enough, but exceedingly palatable to the people of this little frontier town. A stranger can but be struck with the modest demeanor of the fair señoritas. . . . Between the acts of the theatre, they unroll, readjust the tobacco, light and smoke cigaros with all the grace imaginable, while boys with baskets of dulces, fruit and cake, offer them their dainties. . . .

March 14, 1872. San Buena Ventura. The fiestas are over, the plaza is clear of stalls and people, the spring has come, and the trees are all clothed in green, roses are in bloom, and the fruit-trees full of young fruit. The change from winter to spring has been so gradual that I can scarcely realize that it has taken place. The air is soft, balmy, and pure; the soil is dry as usual; no rain, no dark clouds, no fierce thunder have ushered in the smiling dame, but with quiet and modest grace like the daughters of the land she has stolen upon us, and now we acknowledge her presence.

Piedras Negras has been captured; the war has shifted, and now we hear vague rumors of battles and marches away down in the interior about Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi. By the last night's mail, news was brought that Genl Treviño had evacuated Zacatecas, and it is here supposed that he has

23. The dramatic climax of a bullfight traditionally arrives with the slaying of the animal. Here is another indication of the poverty of the region.

been defeated by the Juarist genl.[24] The revolutionists are therefore much dispirited. . . .

This is decidedly the finest country in the world for stock and grain; I mean this immense plain, valley or table-land away up in the mountains. . . . Yet the cattle, horses, sheep, goats, & hogs are the poorest I ever saw. It is the result of breeding. If a Mexican has a crippled colt, or one so stunted and diseased that he will make a very unserviceable horse, he is sure to turn him out for a stallion, with the remark that he will do very well to get colts, and so natural defects are increased a hundred fold. . . . The people take advantage of the fertility of the soil and get along with just as little work as possible.

March 28, 1872. San Buena Ventura. . . . All of the "curas," or priests, with whom I am acquainted are inveterate gamesters, fond of a good glass, and wonderful pets with the women, who have given them numerous pledges of their love in the shape of a score or more of shaggy headed little urchins to each worthy expounder of the "Law and the Gospels." The curas are generally the jolliest of fellows, quick witted and better educated than any other class in this region. There are no lawyers and few M.D.'s, but I am told that these professions increase in proportion as you penetrate the most densely populated regions in the interior.

The people are the most quiet, quarrel and fight less than any in the world, I suppose. Even the boys at the most boisterous age seldom romp and play as with us, and then in the most listless don't-care way imaginable. They all prefer to sit in the shade and look—at what, I do not know, unless it be the future. The whole community with few exceptions is a

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24. On February 8th, Díaz and a small escort reached Zacatecas, joining Treviño's force of 8,000. Rocha repaired to the interior. Bancroft, *Works*, XIV, 282 n., relates: "Treviño started this force toward San Luis Potosí. Rocha was then coming against him from Mexico with 3,500 men, and Corella was moving with 1,500. . . . There was now a favorable opportunity for the pronunciados to defeat the enemy before he got his forces together . . . . These advantages were thrown away by Treviño's retreat." On March 2, Rocha with 8,000 men routed the rebels on Bufa hill. While Rocha pursued scattered remnants, Treviño retreated to Monterrey to form another army. Díaz sped toward the capitol, mistakenly expecting a popular uprising. Thus on April 13th, the Juaristas reoccupied Zacatecas. See also Guerra, *Lijera Reseña*, pp. 27 ff.

striking illustration of Mr Macauber, all "waiting for something to turn up" . . . .

The poorer people seldom have a jacket or coat, but are always seen with a blanket, which is used for those articles during the day and constitutes bed & bedding by night. . . . The poor have little or no furniture—sit & sleep on the floor, eat without knives & forks, prefer pepper to meat, and seem to be wretchedly happy. If one happens to have a rickety old bed-stead, it is sure to be placed opposite to the door, so that every passerby may see the *rising* condition of the family. The houses are generally built of adobes, one story high, and the ground inside is levelled off a little for a floor. Here the happy family squat around, enjoying the delightful society of muddy pigs, fleay & half-starved dogs, cackling hens, crowing roosters, Mr and Mrs Jackass (if they are fortunate enough to possess them), lice and filth, with a rusty cat or two, while the frijoles simmer on the fire and the cook grinds away on the metate. Of course the rich are better off & live in better styles, but not as one would suppose, at least in this part of the country.

Every man is suspicious of his neighbor, and all the houses are constructed with a view to defense. . . . After nine O'clock, which is announced by the church bells, the streets are generally deserted, and everyone who may have occasion to go out does so with fear and trembling, for many are the stories of robbery & murder, while very few actually occur here on the frontier. Down in the interior, however, there are said to be numerous bands of robbers, whose actions are at times very daring and romantic. A friend tells me that even the boys are educated to the business & that their favorite sport is to play robbing the stage. . . . So it is, each people has its national sports, provident of future destiny. . . .

April 17, 1872. San Buena Ventura. . . . It is rumored that Juarez has been victorious in all parts and that the revolution is about over; yet there are not a dozen men from the town of San Buena in the army. They talk about the war in the most valliant manner, but take good care to keep out of

it. . . . The whole thing is regarded as a chronic disorder, whose present paroxism will gradually pass off, to return again at intervals as has generally been the case. And so the war drags along, kept alive by a few chiefs, backed by a set of bad men whose only hope for a living is in war, because there they can rob with impunity and kill without fear. . . . There seems to be little unity of action among the leaders; they are always quarreling over the spoils, and each thinks he ought to be *the leader*.

April 20, 1872. Monclova. Night before last, Dr Bronaugh and I [came to Monclova and found] Mr Dwyer and Mr Duvall of San Antonio, who had just arrived from Texas.[25] They gave us the news from "the other side" . . . . Just out of town to the South and up the river is a fine cotton factory in operation. It is owned by Don Mano. Gonzales Berrera, who seems to be making it pay finely. There is not a single foreigner among the employees. All are Mex[ican] born and raised. There are forty looms, and a very good quality of domestics is made. The machinery is moved by water-power—an immense over-shot water-wheel 49 ft in diameter.[26] There are some very good people here, and one notices a little more attention to appearances. Occasionally the sound of a piano is heard, and the ladies dress in better style & with more taste than in any other frontier town I have seen. It supplies in some measure the smaller towns and large haciendas near the Northern frontier with groceries and dry goods. Its population is about 5,000. All seem made of the same material and are generally disposed to be idle. There are, however, some gentlemen here who have seen the capital and the large cities of the U. S. and Europe—men who were educated in Paris. . . . . Monclova as well as all these frontier towns was first a mine garrison, established by the Sp[aniard]s to protect the miners and to cultivate cereals for their subsistence. . . . The

25. Possibly Thomas A. Dwyer, of San Antonio, and Thomas H. Duval, of Austin, both lawyers and prominent in public affairs.

26. Hughes, "Memoir Descriptive," p. 23, lamented in 1846 that the region produced only a few coarse fabrics. But in 1893, Bancroft, *Resources*, p. 227, accredited Coahuila with nine mills, weaving 350,000 pieces worth $1,500,000 a year. See also Bancroft, *Works*, XIV, 520-524.

mine of Portrillos some 25 miles S.W. of this is, I believe, the only one now being worked. It is owned by Messrs Harris & Randle of Texas.

May 2, 1872. Monclova. Several days ago, word was brought by a dusty courier that the noted Col. Pedro Guenca Valdez had again taken the war path and was approaching this place on the Candela road, having crossed from the U. S. at or near Laredo with some 400 men—white, black, and the color of tobacco—enlisted in the U. S. Of course the authorities pricked up their ears and showed signs of fear at this ugly news. The company of Monclova troopers, some 50 strong and then at San Buena, were ordered here, and Capt. Caranza's troop at Cienegas, then stationed at Villa Nueva, put in an appearance soon after. The martial ardor and patriotic fire of the citizens was then stirred to its depths, and finally a force of some 100 men, well mounted and tolerably armed, set out to meet the enemy under the leadership of an old army officer, Col. Ildefonso Fuentes, well and favorably known on this frontier. The enemy were reported to be near Villadama when the soldiers left here three or four days ago. The Col. pushed on, encountered and defeated the enemy at or near Agua Nueva, killing 12 & taking seven prisoners, two of whom are said to be white citizens of the U. S.

To day the news of this victory was received here, together with the cheerful intelligence that the party defeated had gotten between the brave Col. & this place and were actually nearer town than his forces, both coming but by different roads. The gallant Mayor summoned the fathers to defend their homes and announced that all good citizens must assemble at the city-hall at the ringing of the bell. . . . About 2 O'clock the bells rang furiously, and after waiting some half-hour, I went to the city-hall to see the patriotism of "our 'burg." At that time some half-dozen sickly looking youths were standing around the door, two or three well armed men on horseback, and a few dried up old crones. After asking the news and talking over the war probabilities, I returned home having discovered that the Alcalde [mayor]

had reason to believe that the enemy were only four or five leagues off & were advancing rapidly on the town. A panic immediately took possession of the town. Women poked their heads out of doors & anxiously asked the news. In many instancies, families left home and went to a friend's house, believing that there is safety in numbers. The bells continued to ring for two hours, and finally some fifty citizens armed to the teeth took possession of the church on the main plaza, a huge massive old pile, rising high above the other houses in the vicinity and offering a fine place for defense, and there they are at this time, awaiting the advance of the dreaded enemy and apparently ready to lose their last drop of blood in defense of their hearthstones. It is near sun-down, no enemy has yet come, the Col. Ildefonso is looked for soon, & the fears of the people have in a measure been quieted.

May 4, 1872. Monclova. On the night of the 2 inst., Col. Ildefonso with some 200 troopers arrived here about 8 O'clock and immediately set out after the enemy. They had left taking the road for S. Buena. He pushed on after them and came up with them at Rancho Nuevo, some 15 miles N.W. of S[an] B[uena] on the Cienegas road. The enemy were dismounted, and their horses were eating corn when the Diaz men came upon the village. They mounted & hastened out of town in some confusion (says a *"reliable gentleman"*), where they dismounted and advanced on foot to fight. The battle lasted several hours, when Col. Ildefonso fell back towards Portsuelos, where he is said to be this morning. The other party took the road towards Cienegas. The gay and gallant boys of the Diaz party did not all keep company with their leader, for some dozen or so were here by dark last night, having made 30 miles after the combat. The town was in great terror all last night, but is somewhat quieter this morning. The killed in the combat yesterday are reported at 8 and the wounded at an unknown number.

It is really distressing that this raid should happen just at this juncture, for the planters are in the midst of wheat and barley harvest & can not get reapers, for they fly to the mountains at the call to arms. It seems that there were no

Americans captured in the combat at Agua Nueva and that Guenca had only some dozen or so with him. He was wounded in the arm and has gone to Laredo to get well. No news from the interior. No one ventures on the road to Saltillo now, as it is reported to be infested by bands of freebooters. . . .

May 19, 1872. Monterrey. . . . We found the town to be all excitement, owing to the failure of Quiroga & Treviño's expedition against Matamoras and the near approach of their army in their return.[27] In fact Quiroga is now in the city; and his troops on the road only a few miles off.

Monterey is a very fine city of some 25,000 inhabitants. Splendidly paved and with sidewalks of excellent concrete. The houses are well built and generally of good stone. The people dress after the American style and affect their manners to a greater or less extent. There are many large commercial firms here and much wealth. Being the capital of the state, it is the centre of refinement and education, and the ladies & gentlemen on the plaza in the evening remind one forcibly of a park in a city of the United States. Very few speak English. Trade is at a stand-still, as it is impossible to import through Matamoras, and no communication open with the interior, Saltillo being the last town held by the Revolution. I find all with whom I converse in favor of the Gov'mt and sanguine of the success of the Juarez party. . . .

May 21, 1872. Saltillo. . . . As we approach Saltillo, the face of the country improves, but the sad effects of the war are visible on all sides. Fields are neglected, the crops destroyed, the peons hide half their time in the mountains, and the owners are oppressed with forced loans. . . . We found the hotel occupied by Genl Laing of the revolutionary party. He is the son of an American now resident at Santa Rosa by a Mexican woman, is quite handsome, and . . . has a fine reputation as a soldier, but his force is too small to do anything—only a couple of hundred.[28]

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27. The Matamoros expedition was of small consequence; see Guerra, *Lijera Reseña*, pp. 38 ff.

28. Guerra, *Lijera Reseña*, p. 30, mentioned Laing's force earlier as 300 cavalry. Like Quiroga and Falson, Laing led an unattached brigade.

May 24, 1872. Saltillo. The revolutionists left Saltillo at 12 M on the 23, in the direction of Monterey, having discovered the approach of the Govt forces. A party returned at night and had a fight with the city police, having ambushed them in the Alameda, killing two and wounding seven, and having their leader wounded. There was great confusion all night, but a squadron of govt cavalry entered town today at 12 M, and now the town is very quiet & orderly. . . . The troops are excellently mounted and armed—having winchester carbines & sabres—tolerably well uniformed, and seem to be under excellent discipline. . . .

May 27, 1872. Saltillo. On the 25th, the army headed by Genl. Corrella and Don Victoriano Cepeda, Governor of Coahuila, entered this place. Notice had been given the day before that they would enter town at 12 M, & so rockets and squibs were prepared, holiday suits brought into requisition, and the whole population flocked to the main street and plaza to welcome the representatives of law and order. The bells rang, rockets popped, drums beat, bands played the national air, and the population shouted itself hoarse. After a small advance of cavalry came the carriage containing the Governor and the Genl, drawn by about fifty citizens (of the lower class), the horses having been taken-out in the suburbs; then followed the two other carriages with distinguished citizens & personal friends of the chief magistrate, flanked by a choice body of troopers, after which came four regiments of infantry, six pieces of artillery, and the cavalry, baggage and ammunition wagons, and the rear-guard of infantry. The windows, balconies, and streets were crowded; the enthusiasm, immense; and the bearing of the officers and men, very soldier-like. The troops were very well uniformed and armed —some in dark blue cloth like that of the U. S., trimmed with the colors of the different branches of the service, infantry red, cavalry blue, and artillery yellow, others in white linen or cotton, all the privates with sandals and a dress hat & pompoon. The infantry are armed with excellent rifles, enfields; and the cavalry, with spencer and winchester carbines and sabres. The cavalry are very well mounted and made a

fine appearance. The artillery consists of two 24# & four 12# bronze guns, but old and apparently not very serviceable. There are about 3,000 men of all arms, and after resting yesterday they set out to-day for Monterey, where the last force of consequence of the enemy is expected to make a fight.

The citizens gave a ball to the Gov. and his military friends last night. I was present and had the honor of an introduction to the Gov., the General, Col. Rivera (of the cavalry & very much distinguished), and many other officers. The affair was very brilliant—an immense table with cakes, confectionaries, wines, champaigne, brandies, &c, brilliant lamps, and nearly all the wit, beauty, & chivalry of the town, together with the officers of the army. All went merry as marriage bells. After the long march of some 400 miles, the officers seemed carried away with the pleasures of the hour—the popping of corks, the bursts of laughter, loud and patriotic toasts, sallies of wit and sparkling repartee, soft glances & melting looks, with the voluptuous dances were the order of the day. Everybody seemed to be on good terms with his neighbor & delighted with himself and his capacity for enjoyment. The officers are very polite and gentlemanly and were particularly kind to me. Very few speak English. There were some six or eight Americans present. I left about 1 O'clock A.M., and then the dance was at its best. I did not dance at all & so had no opportunity to cultivate the fair sex, as they either are dancing or ranged in long rows on either side of the room, and it is impossible to speak to them more than a word or two unless in the dance. Anxious Mamas and calculating fathers watched with eager eyes the attentions of the gentlemen. They were generally in handsome costumes tending to Americanism, with waterfalls but no grecians.[29] There was very little beauty in the room, but one lady, the wife of a physician here, had enough for a room-full. She was the Queen of the ball and surrounded by such a host of admirers that it was impossible to see her except in the dance.

The contrast between the frontier where I have been and

29. The "waterfall" and "grecian" were fashionable coiffures.

this place or Monterey is just as great and striking as that between the Rio Grande frontier and San Antonio or Austin. The town is well built; the streets, well paved with cobble stones; and the sidewalks, of brick or a hard cement. The climate of Saltillo stands unrivalled, and its beautiful gardens, square, and pleasure grounds are delightful places for an evening's walk. . . .

May 31, 1872. Saltillo. The little army of Genl Corrella, which left here on the 27 inst. with banners flying, bands playing, and hopes full high, are said to be entirely routed near Monterey by Genl Quiroga. About 5 O'clock this evening, news was brought that they met with defeat on yesterday about 2 O'clock P.M., since with time innumerable rumors of the most startling character have been in circulation, and Panic Fear is again the ruling deity in this unlucky capital. It is hard for one who saw the troops pass here, after having seen those of the other side, to believe that such an army, so well equipped and disciplined as they appeared to be, has been so completely routed by those of the other side with such a poor means at command. . . .

June 1, 1872. Saltillo. Battle of San Barnabé. The rumors are not so many this morning, and it now appears that instead of a defeat there has been no battle of consequence. It is asserted, however, that three regiments of San Luis and Guanahuato troops, the same who turned from Treviño at Zacatecas last winter to the Govmt., have again turned over to Treviño, and that the revolutionists are now about as strong as the Govt party. . . .

Later in the day the wildest rumors came, and the town has been the scene of the greatest excitement. Stragglers have been coming in all day, both officers & men, who give the most dishearting account of the defeat & state positively that all is lost. But just before dark, and after every soldier had left for San Luis, after all the prominent Juaristas had gone the same route full of fear, a courier came from Col. Revueltas, stating that while the right wing met with defeat, the left had captured Monterey, fifteen pieces of artillery, im-

mense stores of ammunition, 500 prisoners, & stating that the enemy were three leagues from town, holding the same position that they (the Juaristas) did before the action, . . . and asking that all the troops in Saltillo be sent down as soon as possible.[30] Couriers were immediately dispatched in hot haste after the regiments that had left for S. Luis, and joy spread over the city once more. . . .

June 2, 1872. Saltillo. . . . We have no further news of the situation at or near Monterey, but it is said that Gral. Naranjo & Col. Stule (an American) were both killed.[31] There are many stragglers here, a sheepish-looking set. They are generally asleep and seem to take no farther interest in the war.

June 5, 1872. Saltillo. After several days of uncertainty, a courier brings the news that the Juarez party have evacuated Monterey and are falling back on this place. It is said that they are near 2,000 strong and left Monterey because the citizens refused provisions &c inside, and Quiroga prevented foraging without, that they have 17 pieces of artillery, and that their two Grals, Cepeda and Corrella, have not been heard from since the first day's action. . . .

About 10 O'clock to-day, the remnant of Corrella's forces arrived from Monterey; they are about 1,200—500 infantry and 700 horses, with five field pieces (one 12#, four 6#) & four Gatlin guns, so called; I did not see the latter. The enemy did not molest the march, but they have lost their train & all their money &c. . . .

June 6, 1872. Saltillo. Gral Gonzales Herera with some 150 cav[alry] & 50 inf[an]try arrived here from Parras about 4 O'clock P.M. No news.

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30. Corella had an army of 4,000 recently interned at the border. At San Bernabe, according to Guerra, *Lijera Reseña*, p. 48 *f.* (transl.): "The right wing and center of Corella's force were defeated by some of Treviño's generals. . . . Revueltas with 500 men . . . took refuge in Monterrey. . . . [Treviño] returned two days later; . . . with him came the stupidity, the vacillation, the negotiations. . . . Final result: Revueltas left the bishop's palace where he had become strong without even being conscious of Treviño! . . . a military disgrace!" The battle "moved the whole Republic and rocked Juarez in the president's chair." Yet Treviño lost the advantage of his victory, delaying too long to bargain.

31. Naranjo, at least, was certainly not dead.

June 8, 1872. Saltillo. It is reported that the troops of Quiroga are advancing and are already more than half way between here & Monterey. They were reported 800 strong (cavalry) at "La Riveconda" last evening. Col. Revueltas, in command here, has only some 1,400 men, mostly cav[alry], and can not possibly hold this place against his enemy if he [Quiroga] prove as strong as reports make him. . . .

June 10, 1872. Saltillo. A report came yesterday that the enemy were advancing; and the troops were got under arms, marched to the plaza, and put in a position for a move forward or in retreat. They remained under arms all night, while scouts were sent out to feel for the enemy. This morning word was brought that they were advancing and had attacked the outpost. The troops here were moved out of town in the direction of the enemy, and took position some half mile from the town, where they remained in line of battle all day. . . . The troops here claim that they are spoiling for a fight, but I do not think they will make much of a stand.

June 15, 1872. Saltillo. For the past four days, the troops here have been busily engaged barricading the streets, & now nearly all approaches from the N., E., & W. are very strongly defended by heavy earth-works thrown up across the streets. The enemy advanced to within some 8 or 10 miles of town, and from that position has skirmished continually, though with much caution; and the result has been that neither party has suffered loss. This morning all is quiet along the lines, & the report that the enemy has retired is gaining ground. The town has been highly excited for more than a week night & day, and all of us will be glad to get rid of the soldiers by day & the horrid howlings of the sentinels by night—as they yell every fifteen minutes "sentinela alerto" [sentry awake].

June 19, 1872. Saltillo. The disappearance of the enemy from the front has been found to be a flank movement by which he has thrown himself around this place and now keeps watch on the roads leading to the interior, so that it

will be impossible for the Govt to reinforce this place, from that direction at least, before driving him from his position. The centre of the town, including the commercial plaza and the markets, is strongly defended by heavy earthworks, but the high hills, upon which are the forts and from which the town can be shelled, are neglected. Should the enemy get possession of these forts & place his two 24# & four 12# there, the town would be at his mercy. There are no rumors afloat this morning, but the officers here are evidently confused and do not understand the object of the enemy's move. They look for an attack every night and expect the enemy on all sides. The weather is delightful for military movements. The farmers are suffering greatly because they can not keep their hands at work while the troops are at hand; and besides, both parties take and destroy grain & stock of all kinds, & rob them of money under the name of "prestamo," or loan.

June 24, 1872. Saltillo. . . . The jingling of spurs, clanking of sabres, and rattle of carbines are familiar sounds, while the presence of artillery and regiments of dirty soldiers in the main plaza are constant reminders of the existing conditions under which we all live. The enemy has made no demonstration upon the town, although his advanced posts are reported to be within ten leagues of here. Genl Rocha is reported to be at Parras, 40 leagues off, and we expect to hear of an engagement between him and Treviño in two or three days, more or less. He is said to have 4,000 men, 12 pieces of artillery. Treviño cannot have more than 2,500 (if so many) and 9 pieces. The battle will be desperate, for all the hopes of the frontier are staked upon the issue. . . . . Dr Carothers and myself got a passport the other day & went some 10 miles into the country hunting rabbits. . . . I took dinner in company with Mr Webber of Monterey at Mr Juan O'Sullivan's and spent a delightful time with the family. After tea, a game of whist, and then home to my room at the hotel.

June 28, 1872. Saltillo. Yesterday a soldier in legion shot an officer of artillery, and the poor criminal was executed

to-day before the troops. . . . Could we get rid of the soldiers and the restrictions put upon our personal liberty by the commander, this would be a very pleasant summer. I am very much disappointed in the quality of the fruit raised here. . . . The best Parras wine is worth about 35¢ a bottle. The vegetable market is well supplied and improving, although the trouble with the soldiers keeps out much from the country. My health is better here than anywhere else, & it may be that God in his mercy intends to restore me to my former strength and vigor.[32]

I have made the acquaintance of all the foreigners here. They are very kind and pleasant to me and do much towards making my residence among them agreeable. There are now here—from Texas, Genl Bee & family,[33] Mr Willett & family, and Mr Montgomery—Dr Carothers, brother & family from Penn., Mr Buss (a German) & family, Mr Brainard from Vermont, & Mr Peterson—all of whom have been kind to me. There is also the family of Mr Juan O'Sullivan, who treat me as a relative. . . . I feel that I am among friends, & it cheers me up a great deal and helps to drive away the sad & lonely feelings that one is apt to have among strangers.[34]

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32. James inserted this notation:
"Comte. Batn. No. 23) Mex. Infantry at Saltillo
"Tomás Robles Lonares) During June 1872."

33. Hamilton P. Bee (1822-1897) had been the Confederate general in charge of the Brownsville port of entry. He resided in Mexico from 1865 to 1876. See the *D. A. B.*, II, 125. The Dallas *Herald*, Aug. 5, 1871, p. 1, reported that Bee operated a large cotton plantation at San Jose de los Alamos, where irrigation was utilized, labor was quite well paid, and profits were sizeable.

34. Here on the last page of James's notebook, the diary necessarily terminated, but with the promise, "I shall try a description of Saltillo in a short time."

Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant. By William S. Greever. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954. Pp. x, 184. Maps, notes, bibliography, appendix and index. $4.00.

Any history of the average western railroad ought to include a considerable treatment of the policies and methods adopted for the disposition of the extensive lands it received in government grants. All lines were anxious to promote settlement along their respective routes to reap the benefits of additional traffic as well as to profit from the lands most of them had been given. Even such a road as the Great Northern, usually regarded as a non-subsidy road, went to great lengths in encouraging settlement along its right of way. With the familiar story of land sales and promotion in mind, Greever's study comes along as an interesting contrast to the normal pattern of development.

Unlike some of the other roads, the Santa Fe gained relatively little from its lands. This was due in part to a lack of promotional zeal as well as to the fact that its lands were far from valuable for the average small farmer. Back in 1866, Congress chartered the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, which proposed to build from Springfield, Missouri, to the Pacific Ocean. Although it was given the right to earn land from the federal government, it received little in Missouri (already well populated), and none in Indian Territory where the government declined to extinguish Indian titles. After getting as far west as Vinita, I. T., the railroad, in 1876, went bankrupt. It was reorganized as the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad (generally referred to as the Frisco) and in 1880 formed a partnership with the Atchison, which had already reached Albuquerque, to form a new Atlantic and Pacific. Thus reorganized and strengthened, the road plunged across New Mexico and Arizona. Beset with further difficulties the A. and P. again went bankrupt in 1894; so did the Atchison and Frisco. After another reorganization, the Frisco took the Oklahoma trackage and the Atchison the track from Isleta, N. M., to

Needles, California, whose management it turned over to one of its subsidiaries, the Santa Fe Pacific. It was in Arizona and New Mexico, with over ten million acres of land at its disposal, that the Santa Fe made a reasonable profit from land. Between 1897 and 1952 it netted close to $16,000,000.

In the disposition of its lands the Santa Fe differed from other roads. For example, it made no attempt to interest stockmen outside the grant area to buy or to lease land, but instead urged those on the scene to participate in its use. Little profit was gained, considering the possibilities at hand. For example, the road—to its everlasting credit—refused to engage in, or sanction, the practice so common elsewhere of advertising its offerings as the garden spot of the West to innocents who might be, and elsewhere were, taken in. Instead, it did its best to dispose of an arid domain, as the title of the book calls it, as equitably as possible. No other railroad was confronted by the multiplicity of problems that faced the Santa Fe in its land policies and perhaps none comes off better than that road in the manner with which it mastered the complexities it faced.

Arid Domain is a detailed, tightly written account that was not designed for the pocket-book trade. But its orderly approach, and the introduction of the personalities involved, kept what was necessarily at times a statistical study from becoming dull. The book is certainly a contribution to the general history of railroad building and furnishes at least one refutation to the thesis that the roads gobbled up national resources with a rapacity that characterized the economic exploitation of the undeveloped West.

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Yuma Crossing. By Douglas D. Martin, with illustrations by Horace T. Pierce. Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press, 1954. Pp. ix, 243. $4.00.

The head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Arizona, also author of *Tombstone's Epitaph*, now has

focused attention upon the historically significant crossing of the Colorado River at Yuma, Arizona. The site of the narrow steel bridge which today links California and Arizona has been the setting for an historical pageant which opened with the Alarcón expedition of 1540 and presented in increasing tempo the dramatic procession of Vasquez de Coronado, Padre Kino, Juan Bautista de Anza, Chief Palma, James O. Pattie, Stephen W. Kearny, the Mormon Battalion, "Don Diego" Jaeger, the Camel Corps, the Butterfield Overland Mail, the California Column, the river traffic, and the Southern Pacific Railway.

In his telling of this eventful story the author has made the reading easy and interesting by employing a journalistic style and choice quotations from documentary sources. He deals skilfully with local history when he relates the story of the struggle of whites and Indians for control of the ferry, the progress of navigation on the Colorado, and the contribution of Jaeger to the development of Arizona. He presents also the panorama of events to the east and west which lead to the crossing, in order to emphasize the significance of the site. In other words, he has streamlined much of the history of the Southwest and brought each episode finally to the crossing. In this venture farther afield the authenticity of interpretation is questionable in some instances, perhaps due to the tendency to place a higher value upon popular jargon than upon accuracy.

Several illustrations of the above could be cited, but one will suffice, from pages 92-93:

> England was trying to close a deal with Mexico for California. This the young United States felt could not be tolerated so we decided to grab the territory and to seize New Mexico at the same time. Our excuse to ourselves and to the world was that New Mexico would not control her nationals, who were constantly raiding American soil on our border, and that she refused to pay for their murders and robberies.
>
> The course of empire was swinging southwest at last, but here neither occupation nor purchase would serve. This must be conquest, so we declared war on Mexico, May 13, 1846.
>
> Americans liked the idea . . . .

This by-passes the complex ramifications of negotiations for purchase, Mexican belligerency, annexation of Texas, and disputed boundary, and worse yet, Mexico declared war first and a host of Americans definitely did not "like the idea." The above quotation also illustrates a tendency which may be annoying to some, and that is the use of "so" as a conjunction several times on each page.

To the credit of the author, however, we may as well concede that that seems to be the way local history has to be written in order to get a book published, and if style will induce more Americans to acquire some acquaintance with the heritage of the Southwest, then a worthy cause has been served.

The publishers may well take pride in the attractive format. Moreover, the illustrations are appropriate and the bibliography is helpful. To the latter can be added now another title, *Yuma Crossing*, filling a gap in the history of Arizona, of which too little has been written to date.

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Music in Mexico. By Robert Stevenson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952. Pp. xv, 300. $5.00.

In *Music in Mexico* Robert Stevenson for the first time gives us a comprehensive history of Mexican music. Following a chronological pattern the author first presents early aboriginal music. Going back to comments on and accounts of Aztec music by Spanish chroniclers, he notes the little interest of the modern Mexican in his musical heritage until about 1920. Then "Aztec music rather than being decried was being held up for the first time as the worthiest music for Mexican composers to imitate." (p. 6)

Characteristics of the ancient music such as minor quality, modal melodies and two or more rhythms with beats that never exactly correspond become virtues to be emulated. With the spread of the new enthusiasm for the past, Mexican scholars set out to study ancient Indian instruments, to gather

opinions and facts from Sixteenth Century chroniclers and to collect by recordings, melodies preserved by Indians in isolated areas, melodies which have basic elements found in pre-Cortesian systems.

Mr. Stevenson describes the ancient instruments, two-toned xylophones such as the Aztec *teponaztli* which he says was the same as the Maya *tunkul* and the Zapotec *tun*, drums, rasps, rattles; he brings together pertinent points in the accounts of the early Spanish historians, and sets forth in modern notation several melodies of the aborigines. He then summarizes the worth in ancient music which has stimulated the modern Mexican composer.

The discussion continues on the European music carried to Mexico by the Spanish conquerors. Music was used by churchmen to aid them in teaching religion to the conquered Indians and very aptly the Indians demonstrated their musicality. The Spanish padres trained Indian choirs for the church and taught the Indians to copy music thus creating "splendid libraries of church music." (p. 67) Also the Indians were instructed in making European instruments and in turn they adapted their native instruments to the European idiom.

In addition music was printed in Mexico in the Sixteenth Century, and in the 220 odd Mexican imprints of that period there were twelve liturgical books containing music. Mr. Stevenson included in this discussion a very able and painstaking "description of Sixteenth Century Mexican imprints containing music," with the present location of some of them. In the synopsis of polyphonic development the author lists in chronological order the important events of the Sixteenth Century (pp. 83-86). The narrative continues on the development of music for instruments and secular music for the dance.

In the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries many documents for the study of Mexican music have perished. Yet an inventory of Neo-Hispanic polyphonic repertory of the first three centuries of the colonial period is compiled from the copies of compositions as they exist in the cathedrals of Mexico City and Puebla in 1950 (Note 4, p. 166). There follows a

discussion of some of the composers and compositions with reproduction of scores and analyses of the works.

Decline of European vigor as the colonial period closes shows in the music. No really effective schools for instruction made professional musical training most inadequate, and concentration of European population in city centers left the outlying areas to a weakening hybrid culture or to little, if any, European influence. Yet music continues, religious, secular, and folk.

The Nineteenth Century witnessed an intense interest in opera, with Italian opera "the consuming passion." At the end of the colonial period Mexican music was in a depressed state, composers devoted themselves to "journeyman work on theatrical farces" (p. 173), and foreign talent kept Mexican musicians from much recognition.

With political independence Mexico no longer imported instruments by way of Spain and English pianos and foreign organs, which were preferred, came in in greater numbers. Likewise some instruments were manufactured at home. Music such as dance forms became popular with composers and Mexican dances, before avoided, were now preferred to the European types. With the break from Spain, Mexicans adopted the *jarabe* as the dance and song of the revolution.

A large number of operas were written by Mexicans who relied heavily on Italian models. Italian opera seemed in complete dominance. Despite this and other handicaps Mexican performers gradually gained considerable recognition. During the Díaz period the government subsidized musical activities so that by the beginning of the new century Mexico realized the right to govern her own musical life.

With the Twentieth Century a number of outstanding Mexican composers such as Manuel M. Ponce and the best known Mexican contemporary, Carlos Chavez, brought Mexican music into international acclaim. Mr. Stevenson concludes with a discussion of the contributions made by Carlos Chavez, analyzing his musical style and indicating the basis for his essential greatness. Also other contemporaries are briefly presented. The author closes with the statement that "Mexico is a land with a dynamic, living music."

Based upon widely gathered sources and carefully documented, this synthesis of Mexican music integrated into the political and economic development of the country is the best survey written to date. It evidences careful study and exceedingly thoughtful analysis. Folk music, salon music, and popular music are given slight consideration, although the author is quite aware that they exist. He has brought into proper focus for the first time the Neo-Hispanic colonial contributions with enough extracts of compositions to tell something of the style of the composers. An excellent bibliography and complete index further make this volume a welcome addition not only to musical history but also to the entire historical picture of Mexico.

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Petroleum in Venezuela: a History. By Edwin Lieuwen. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1954. Pp. 160 (University of California Publications in History, vol. 47) $2.00.

This is a very scholarly book and should be read by all thinking people. The author has a splendid bibliography. The wealth of source materials which the writer had access to makes it authoritative. His conclusions and interpretations clearly show the author's originality and ability. This volume has great national and international significance for it is pertinent to the issues of this epoch.

The early history of petroleum has been given proper emphasis. The old Roman law and the laws of the Indies, along with the decrees of kings, indicate the evolution of policy as regards sub-surface minerals. The first leases were granted before a petroleum policy was formulated because the old Spanish policy only dealt with metals and lands.

As Dr. Lieuwen says: "It is difficult to compare Venezuelan contracts with those of other nations in 1907." The first leases were made before precedents were established. The Castro administration set a legal basis for the exploita-

tion of non-metallic materials. Even if the government of Venezuela was thinking of oil, which it was not, the terms of the contracts were more favorable than those in Mexico where the entire national domain was being alienated. No other country in Latin America produced much oil and in the United States where the surface owner owned the subsoil the government was not involved. Castro was dealing only with asphalt, because the strategic value of oil, prior to 1914, was not realized. He was fumbling for some kind of a policy but despite his liberal contracts he did not make Venezuela a very enticing place for investors, as domestic revolt and international monetary problems discouraged investments. However, a new atmosphere of political stability was created when Gomez came to power in Venezuela. He had a subservient congress, a spy system and an army. He was dictator for twenty-seven years.

Gomez needed revenue so he made liberal leases with the oil companies. The petroleum companies were to begin development of their leases at a specific date. The British and Dutch Shell took the initiative from the United States companies. The British companies acquired choice leases in the Maracaibo region. They exploited petroleum under the liberal laws of 1907 and 1912.

His major aim was to secure income from oil wells, so he disregarded the interests of the nation by making liberal grants to the companies. He permitted the refining of petroleum to go to the Dutch West Indies, and companies to practice their own paternalistic labor policy. He did provide for a fifty percent reduction for oil produced in Venezuela. Shell established a plant in Venezuela in order to take advantage of this proviso. Gomez alone could make contracts. The oil law enacted by Gomez in 1922 was so liberal that Gomez was criticized for giving the nation's resources away. President Wilson and the British statesmen realized the strategic value of oil. Rivalry began between Great Britain and the United States governments as well as the companies. Gomez was shrewd and took advantage of the rivalry.

Markets were found for oil in the United States and in Europe. The dictator Gomez was able to pay both domestic

and foreign debts because petroleum soon dominated Venezuelan economy. Dr. Lieuwen evaluated Gomez policy as follows: "The industry brought about a significant population shift, a foreign immigration and opening of new areas and a nation wide economic transformation. A public works program was initiated but as oil rose in importance agriculture declined. The ever increasing stream of petroleum dollars injected into Venezuelan income stream caused inflation and multiplied real estate values. Venezuela's short depression of 1927 and the prolonged depression of the 1930's were ripples from the disturbing pebbles falling into foreign waters." The companies at first assumed no responsibility for the shock of world events. Labor was kept docile and unorganized. West Indies labor was imported and Venezuela labor flocked to the oil fields. When depression came, prices rose faster than wages and worst of all oil contributed to the establishment of dictatorship, brutal and corrupt. Petroleum dollars went to increase the army. Education, industry and agriculture were ignored. The depression of 1930 stopped expansion and tariff menace loomed from the United States. PETROLEUM DOMINATED VENEZUELAN ECONOMY. The companies claimed that what was good for the companies was good for the nation. The author shows that the testimony of the company representatives clearly indicates that Gomez was friendly to the companies.

As long as Gomez lived opponents were silenced but as soon as he passed away critics asserted that an opulent state and an exhausted people was depressing. There was developing a nationalism which caused the companies to fear that Venezuela would follow the Latin American pattern in so far as natural resources were concerned.

Only a segment of the population enjoyed the income from oil. The author illustrates how the economy of the nation was affected by world currents. He also establishes the fact that Gomez and the army dictators who followed him failed to protect the interests of the nation. The amount of money stolen by Gomez and his friends was tremendous. The state became more and more opulent whereas the people lived in misery. The state developed a one sided economy—a single extractive

industry, very sensitive to world markets. The military dictators made policy but failed to develop a broad social program for human betterment.

The author shows very great ability as well as maturity in the last chapter wherein he interprets the preceding chapters and draws the conclusions. These interpretations and conclusions rest upon the best of evidence. He could not secure all of the government sources, as he stated, but this reviewer thinks that his work is lacking in few respects.

The author found that each year since exploitation of petroleum began oil made up an increasing share of the federal budget and national income. Between 1913 and 1935 Venezuelan exports excluding petroleum declined 40% in volume and 50% in value. Imports exclusive of petroleum doubled in volume and rose three-fifths in value. By 1935 oil constituted 99% of the volume and 80% of the value of Venezuelan exports. Dollars used in purchasing foreign goods came chiefly from oil. By 1935 Venezuela's imports were three times greater than her exports.

Lopez became the economic dictator upon Gomez's death. Political upheavals became non-existent. The new dictator answered only to the demands of the markets in the United States and Europe. If his decisions were harmful to Venezuela's economic life it was a matter of fate. He set up a system of labor inspection and took a direct interest in the protection of the rights of labor. The paternalistic relationships of employer-employee were destroyed. The powers of the company's superintendent were whittled away. His congress of 1936 gave labor the right to organize. This labor law was aimed for oil workers alone for industry and agriculture could not provide health, education, sanitation and housing for the laborers. A determined government forced the companies to give up their traditional labor policies. The companies opposed the union's right to organize. Syndicates were organized and Venezuela had its first strike. Lopez was angered because the strike interfered with his reorganization plans. Production dropped 40% and royalties dropped an equal amount. The paralysis of the nation's chief industry was felt in the entire economy. Lopez considered the strike

against the government so he invoked the labor law and intervened by force and thus ended the strike.

Lopez unlike Gomez felt that it was his duty to invest the income from oil wisely. He realized that his country was basically backward. A diversified economy was his aim. The companies were forced to change their policies and an era of reform started. The critics of Lopez assert that he was not the originator of reforms; that the press, congress and labor forced him to adopt reforms by putting pressure upon him. The companies were still operating under favorable terms. "Sembrar el Petroleo" had few results in reality for agriculture was still prostrate, transportation was lacking and sanitation, housing and education had not been improved. The nation was more dependent upon petroleum than ever. Yet the government had not expropriated petroleum properties.

The army dictators had secured a larger share of petroleum profits. They have invested the income from oil unwisely. The masses of the Venezuelans are still poor, illiterate, unhealthy and live in the most primitive conditions. The economy is still shockingly backward. While tremendous revenues have come from oil, too much goes to the army and bureaucracy. Venezuela has a budget equal to Mexico's with a population only one-fifth as large and she spends more on her foreign service than any Latin American nation. The ruling group have been guilty at times of speculation on a large scale. The nation has become dependent upon a single extractive industry, sensitive to foreign markets. Though the oil companies have become powerful, this does not excuse the army dictators from not investing the income wisely.

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A Half Year In The New World. Miscellaneous Sketches of Travel in The United States (1888). By Alexandra Gripenberg. Translated and edited by Ernest J. Moyne. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1954. Pp. xv, 216. Index.

This is the first English translation of some lively impressions of late 19th century America, written by a keen-witted and strenuous visitor from Finland. Baroness Gripenberg, of a prominent Swedish-Finnish family, was thirty-one years old at the time of her tour, but already she had established herself as a writer of travel sketches, as a novelist and short-story author, and had served as a newspaper correspondent. By temperament she was a reformer, and especially devoted to woman's rights. It was to attend an international woman's rights convention in Washington, D.C., that she came to the United States; afterward she stayed on to investigate various aspects of American life.

Baroness Gripenberg's itinerary was extensive, yet in some respects it was restricted. She arrived in New York on a frosty morning in March, 1888, then in due course visited Philadelphia, Washington, New England cities, Indianapolis, Chicago, and together with a group of American school teachers undertook a fourteen-day train ride over the Santa Fe route to San Francisco. About one-fourth of her book is on California. Returning from the Pacific Coast to the East, she made a brief stopover at Salt Lake City. Although she mentioned the South several times in her text she did not visit that section. During most of her tour she stayed with educated and well-to-do families. She did not examine closely the living conditions of the native American working class, or otherwise study economic problems in the rapidly growing industrial cities. Agricultural unrest in the West seemed to be of little interest to her.

Many of Baroness Gripenberg's observations, although interesting, were superficial and unreliable. She was, however, too forceful a woman to accept merely the genteel tradition of American watering-places. With a true reporter's bent she sought out what she considered to be the unusual and even the bizarre in American life. In Philadelphia she attended out of curiosity a spiritualist seance; in Chicago she questioned Christian Scientists and delved into the literature of their faith; she interviewed an old abolitionist, Robert Purvis, of antebellum underground railroad fame, and apparently agreed with his extreme opinions on racial equality;

together with Susan B. Anthony she attended the Republican National Convention of 1888; in California she was an interested guest at the sessions of the National Education Association, but also toured the opium dens of the Chinese quarter, witnessed the triumph of American concepts of progress in the sleepy California towns, and tramped many miles through Yosemite. In Salt Lake City she sat with the Mormons on a Sunday morning in the Tabernacle, and swam with them in the Great Salt Lake.

Some of the most fascinating passages are vignettes of prominent Americans with whom she visited: the widow of Ole Bull, then living in the Lowell family home in Cambridge; a social evening with Mark Twain and friends at Hartford; acquaintance with Robert Ingersoll, Harriet Beecher Stowe (then in her clouded years), Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Joaquin Miller, and many others. At times her descriptions of American middle class life are vivid—for example, her sketch of a typical Indianapolis neighborhood on a hot summer's night. Her analysis of the plight of impoverished and wretched Finnish immigrants is thought provoking.

At times Baroness Gripenberg presented opinions which were based upon uncritical reading. As illustrations, she accepted the judgments of Parker Pillsbury, expressed in his *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles*, as an authentic account of the anti-slavery movement. Catherine V. Waite's *Life Among the Mormons* was cited to support her unfriendly bias against that faith. Baroness Gripenberg also revealed little understanding of American government and politics. She assumed that the Fourteenth Amendment was a part of the federal constitution before the Civil War, and that this amendment guaranteed the freedom of all Americans, including Negroes. She asserted that the Republican party in 1861 held that the "common legislature" had the rightful power to force the southern States to abolish slavery. She believed that differences over the Negro were, as late as 1888, the major issue dividing American political parties, and that "Abraham Lincoln, Junior" was being considered for the Republican nomination in that year. At times her knowledge of geography and railroad routes was equally hazy. She spoke of the Coast

Range as the Sierra Nevadas, confused the location of La Junta, Colorado, and Las Vegas, New Mexico, and concluded that the Santa Fe railroad joined the Chicago and Alton at Las Vegas, New Mexico. She atoned for this, however, by writing a number of colorful paragraphs on Las Vegas and Santa Fe.

A final chapter on "The Homes and the Customs of the New World" is interesting for its details on American food, home life, young people, marriage, and similar topics. In this, as all through her book she was perhaps overly generous in her evaluation of American culture. Here she expressed the dubious view that a lack of American art and art criticism was counterbalanced by Americans' good taste in dress. For her, American co-education, the superior position of women relative to other nations, the development of wholesome family life, and a general appearance of neatness, thrift, ambition and industry were fundamental to American greatness.

Professor Moyne has consulted both the published Finnish text (1889) and the Swedish text (1891) in making his readable translation. There are a few editorial annotations, some of which point to errors in the text. A more thorough editorial service of this kind would have added to the value of the work. In his editorial introduction Professor Moyne compares Baroness Gripenberg's account to those of Fredrika Bremer and Peter Kalm, but in this reviewer's opinion it falls somewhat short in such a comparison.

University of New Mexico GEORGE WINSTON SMITH

Commerce of the Prairies. By Josiah Gregg. Edited by Max L. Moorhead. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. xxxviii, 469. (American Exploration and Travel)

Gregg's classic of southwestern history retains its value as a prime source of information and never loses its appeal to the person who seeks pleasant and adventurous reading. This reprint will be useful in building private libraries and widening the circle of readers among the general public. It is a care-

ful reproduction of the first edition text with the illustrations and maps, and the addition of Gregg's notes and glossary of Spanish words from the second edition. The pictures, in a few instances, have lost the freshness of the original. Perhaps this is due to the printer's choice of method of production with an eye to cost of printing.

The editor has supplemented Gregg's footnotes with useful annotations of his own, in some instances drawing on knowledge derived from intensive research in Mexican archives. He presents, for instance, the specific information (p. 142) that Gregg brought the first printing press into New Mexico. In general, his notes assume a reader's acquaintance with the history and geography of the region traveled by Gregg, consequently they are not quite so useful for the general reader.

A few of the footnotes require some comment. According to Kendall, the "death march" ended at El Paso, not Chihuahua (p. 7, note 4). Note 5, p. 82, incorrectly implies that Coronado explored as far westward as the Gulf of California. The Pueblo of Zia is located on the Rio Jemes, not the Rio de las Vacas (p. 90, note 20). The characterization of Gertrudes Barcelo (p. 169, note 19) has been modified by Angelico Chavez in *El Palacio*, v. 57, no. 8. On the origin of the name New Mexico, the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 23:23, would have been useful. The date for the Parroquia (p. 180, note 5) needs revision; *ibid.*, 24:85. On the Navaho (p. 199, note 4) see *ibid.*, 26:101. And the distances in notes 5 and 7 (p. 193) need reconsideration.

The editor has compiled a bibliography of Gregg's sources, and has added a more lengthy one of his own, revealing significant additional material for students. A lengthy introduction includes a biographical sketch of Gregg and a critical essay on authorship of the book. Professor Moorhead overlooked, however, Howard Dimick's article on Gregg with a discussion of his death. The validity of Wood's article on this point is seriously challenged (*N. M. H. R.*, 22:274).

In the light of intensive checking on Gregg's story, the editor concludes that *"Gregg knew what he was talking about."* That is a valid conclusion.

F.D.R.

Florentine Codex. General History of the Things of New Spain. By Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Book 8, Kings and Lords. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. Santa Fe, New Mexico: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1953. (Monographs of The School of American Research, No. 14)

Publication of the fifth of the twelve books of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's account of the life of the Aztecs at the time of the Spanish Conquest is an event for many more than those who cannot read the Spanish language version. The intelligent and careful but very readable English translation of Sahagún's Nahuatl version is, as was pointed out in the review of the previous two Books, not the same as the parallel version which Sahagún made in Spanish; sometimes the Spanish text is fuller, sometimes the Nahuatl. And the Nahuatl version has never before had a complete translation; fragmentary versions have appeared in several languages, but nothing on the scale of the present project has ever been carried to completion.

While the present is the fifth of Sahagún's twelve to appear in English, it is not his Book Five. The order chosen has been One, Two, Three, Seven, Eight, apparently because these first issues are believed by the translators to be of the widest interest. Actually, it is almost impossible to choose between the sections on a basis of scientific value, and many will remain impatient until the appearance of the final Book. The issues to date cover, in Sahagún's imprecise titling, The Gods; Ceremonies; Origin of the Gods; Cosmology; and Kings and Lords. The remaining ones are Divination; Prognostication and Astrology; Moral Philosophy; Rights and Duties of Kin, Illness and Treatment, and Races of Anahuac; Flora, Fauna, and Habitat; and The Conquest. Last to appear will be the translators' introduction, with index.

To illustrate the value of having the Nahuatl version available in a European language, one may turn to the fifth chapter of Book Eight. In the Spanish version, speaking of Tula, is this statement: ". . . from the ruin of Tula, until the present year

of 1571, very few less than 1890 years have passed."[1] The Anderson and Dibble translation of the corresponding Nahuatl passage reads: "This was in the year one thousand, one hundred and ten; and from there the count reacheth and endeth at this year, 1565."[2] The Nahuatl version is probably the original one, and the Spanish one may be a translation from it, the section in question possibly dating from as much as six years later. The date given in the Nahuatl version for the fall of Tula has been confirmed by archaeology, which without assigning precise years to such events has come far enough in the study of Tula to place its fall around 1100 A.D. The date of around 300 B.C. in the Spanish version is entirely out of the question.

Book Eight gives us the names, conquests, and dates of rule of the Aztec kings; those of Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Huexotla, and the Chichimeca; an account of the omens which preceded the Spanish arrival in Mexico; and then enumerates at great length the articles of fine apparel which distinguished the great from the humble in Tenochtitlan. The ethnographic content is further enriched by accounts of noble amusements and feasts, of justice, of protocols of war, of choice of rulers and of the training of noble children for it. There is also an account of the market-place which should be of interest to many who are not Mesoamerican specialists nor historians.

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1. Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España.* Notes, bibliography, index and guide by Miguel Acosta Saignes. Editorial Nueva España, S.A., México, 1946. Three volumes. See Vol. II, p. 48.

2. Anderson, Arthur J. O., and Dibble, Charles E. *Florentine Codex (General History of the Things of New Spain,* by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún), Part IX (Book 8 of the *History*). Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1954. See p. 15.

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